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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Arbatov Backs 'Radical,' Unilateral Nuclear Cuts

PM1209084391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

[Article by Academician G. Arbatov: "The Fewer Nuclear Weapons There Are, the Smaller the Risk"]

[Text] I received the letter from the American Association of Concerned Scientists to the Congress of People's Deputies, which IZVESTIYA reported (see No. 211), yesterday. Its author is Henry Kendall, chairman of the association, physicist, and Nobel Prize winner. The ideas contained in the letter seem extremely important to me.

On the eve of the last Soviet-American summit I wrote in an article published in IZVESTIYA that our approach to talks on restricting and reducing strategic arms should be radically changed. Is not the very fact that after 22 years of difficult, agonizing talks and three "disarmament" agreements both sides will have 2.5 times more strategic nuclear weapons than at the beginning of the process an indictment of how we and the United States have conducted these matters?

Very great opportunities now exist for changing the approach to and methods of the talks—the Cold War is over, U.S.-USSR mutual trust has increased, and the interests of both countries in cutting military expenditure coincide. In the same article I expressed the idea that if we really want radical arms cuts we cannot rely just on talks. Unilateral steps are also very important. To facilitate, of course, both the process of arms cuts and future talks themselves. Such a combination of talks and unilateral steps is the key—it is my deep conviction—to real arms cuts and the demilitarization of our society and international relations. Kendall's letter indicates that these ideas are also shared by many American scientists.

As a result of events taking place in the Soviet Union, another argument has been added to those in favor of more resolute reduction of nuclear weapons. Since the unsuccessful putsch fears have begun to be voiced both in our country and abroad that, given the radical and not always regulated changes in our country, nuclear weapons could fall into the wrong hands. We cannot dismiss these fears. It is a fact, after all, that for three days our nuclear potential or, at any rate, a considerable part of it was in the hands of plotters and adventurists. To which is added the concern about nuclear weapons located on the territory of other republics which will now obtain autonomy.

There are many proposals already on ways to maintain security in these difficult conditions. These include the proposal for talks on a complete ban on tactical nuclear weapons and also the proposal that, on becoming independent, republics should sign the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Arms and declare themselves nuclear-free zones like the Ukraine and Kazakhstan.

I consider the most noteworthy of the proposals is Kendall's for a radical cut in the quantity of nuclear warheads—radical even compared with the figure established in the agreement signed in Moscow. The fewer nuclear weapons there are, the smaller the risk that they will fall into the wrong hands. Advancing along the path toward the complete renunciation of nuclear weapons is best of all, but this path will, of course, take quite a long time. It seems to me that in this regard the proposal contained in Kendall's letter deserves close attention.

Worldwide Issues

Baker Attends CSCE; May Meet With Gorbachev

OW1209180991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] It is possible that Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will have another meeting in Moscow in the next few days. This news was received by an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent from the Soviet President's press office. A senior employee of the press office said that Gorbachev would be extremely busy in the next few days. The U.S. secretary of state's timetable for his stay in Moscow is also very full. "Nevertheless," the official underlined, "I can't exclude the possibility that such a meeting will take place."

James Baker is in Moscow for the meeting of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension. His programme includes visits to the Baltic states and to Alma-Ata, capital of Kazakhstan.

Pankin-Baker Consultations at CSCE Conference

Pankin Remarks on U.S., Honecker

LD1209201491

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian at 1600 GMT on 12 September carries an eight-minute item on the news conference given by Foreign Minister Boris Pankin in Moscow on 12 September. Commentator Viktor Levin notes that this was the third news conference given by Pankin in the past week.

On the talks between Pankin and Baker, Levin says that in his view the most important thing is that there was a proposal from the Soviet side to begin negotiations at an earlier date on reducing tactical nuclear weapons and completely prohibiting nuclear tests.

Levin also notes that Pankin touched on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Cuba. In Levin's view, it was not a very positive development that Cuba, according to its allegations, learned about this decision from the media rather than through direct contacts.

At the end of Levin's commentary there are two recorded extracts of Pankin's comments at the news conference. These extracts follow:

[Unidentified journalist] Mr. Pankin, I would like to know if your country will hold talks with the United States in the near future regarding not a unilateral but a bilateral troop withdrawal and, in general, the Soviet Union's attitude toward the issue of U.S. troops in Cuba.

[Pankin] If you were paying attention to what I said in my statement, we consider that this step taken by us on the withdrawal of our contingent, which is of a rather symbolic nature, is directed at and—we hope—will serve to continue productive discussions with the U.S. Administration on working out additional confidence measures regarding Cuba.

What are these confidence measures? Responsive moves on the side of the U.S. Administration toward creating a normal situation in the region are under discussion, but naturally a reduction in the strength—at least in the initial stage—of troops at the U.S. military base in Guantanamo, a reduction in the number of calls made there by U.S. Navy ships, and the advance announcement of significant military maneuvers, training, and movements by the Navy in the region are all on the agenda. All this is not new; these questions are constantly under consideration. The penetration of Cuban territory by U.S. reconnaissance planes has been stopped; the United States took this step. The reduction and abolition of military maneuvers in the area of Cuba are under discussion.

So this statement from us was not the result of talks with the United States. Strictly speaking, we informed them about our intentions and at the same time sent a notice to inform the Cuban leadership. We informed them in order to call on them for corresponding steps. And I must say, judging from a statement by U.S. Secretary of State Baker—I think he said it publicly—this measure has been met by them, so to speak, with understanding, and they intend to make moves on their side directed at relieving the situation in this region and directed, so to speak, at the implementation of these confidence measures. So, I think, they should reply to this kind and good gesture, which is, so to speak, in everybody's interests.

[Unidentified journalist] A question about the fate of Comrade Honecker: When and by whom will it be resolved, where is he now and what contacts does he have with officials in the Soviet Union, and, if possible, what about the human dimension of this problem, since he was brought here out of humanitarian considerations? Thank you.

[Pankin] This is a complicated problem which, on the whole, is very difficult to resolve. Regarding reports which appeared in the media that some kind of accord was reached in talks between President Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Genscher, in particular about him departing for China, according to one source, and for Chile, according to other sources, quoting TASS or a statement by some mythical consular officer at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.... I must say that this is not true. First, no consular officer has made any statement on this subject. Assuming, theoretically, that somebody made a statement, then he did not have any authority to do so. In principle this issue has been discussed with Mr. Genscher but a decision has not been made yet, among other reasons because of the human dimension.

Pankin on Troop Pullout From Cuba

OW1309010691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2130 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Although the presence of a Soviet military brigade in Cuba was purely symbolic, it was a symbol of the past epoch," Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin said to a Moscow news conference on Thursday.

Commenting on Mikhail Gorbachev's decision to withdraw the brigade from Cuba, Mr. Pankin said the move was aimed at demilitarizing the Caribbean, turning that region into a zone of peace, and making the situation around Cuba healthier. This should help the Soviet Union free its relations with foreign countries of any ideological influence, B. Pankin said.

According to the minister, Soviet military assistance to Cuba should be cut down, and Soviet-Cuban relations should be "purely commercial."

Asked about Fidel Castro's reaction to President Gorbachev's Wednesday statement, Mr. Pankin said he did not know, but the Cuban embassy in Moscow, to his knowledge, had sent the presidential apparatus a message expressing "concern" over that statement.

Second Talks Previewed

OW1209194891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 12 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The problems connected with a Middle East peace settlement and the calling of a peace conference are, it seems, to be the subject of detailed discussions at the second meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on 13th September, a "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent was told by a senior official at the Middle East and North Africa Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. He noted that due to lack of time during the meetings on September 11th between Mr. Baker and Boris Pankin, and later with President Gorbachev, these problems were only discussed in passing.

As far as preparations for the peace conference are concerned, the diplomat said that "everything was proceeding normally." The readiness and interest of the Soviet Union and the United States, the co-presidents of the conference, to cooperate actively in its preparation and realisation were, he said, "beyond doubt."

The diplomat rejected suggestions that the USSR had somehow reacted to Washington's decision to link the allocation of millions of dollars of credit for Israel to the latter's participation in the peace conference, saying that this was primarily a matter of bilateral relations between Israel and the United States. Meanwhile, it was vital that Israel be convinced of the need to stop building new settlements on occupied Arab territories for the duration of the Middle East peace conference. If this did not happen it would represent a serious obstacle to a regional peace settlement.

A few days ago a Soviet deputy foreign minister, Aleksandr Belonogov, met a member of the U.N. Executive Committee, Mahmud Abbas (Abu-Mazen) and the Moscow ambassador of the State of Palestine, Nabil Amar for what the diplomat termed "regular consultations." The delicate situation calls for a regular exchange of views. The meeting showed once again that the Palestinians are being "very realistic," he said. He went on to add that in the near future there would be "very many different contacts connected with preparations for the conference."

Middle East Conference on Agenda

LD1309075191 Moscow TASS in English 0709 GMT 13 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow September 13 TASS—Talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker continue this morning in the mansion of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Before the session started, Pankin told journalists the Middle East settlement and the convocation of a peace conference on the Middle East would be one of the problems to be discussed today.

Pankin believes there are no factors blocking the convocation of the conference on a set date before the end of October, this year.

The Soviet side believes a European capital, Prague for example, could become the venue of the conference, because "European countries hold a more neutral stand on this issue," Pankin said.

The Soviet minister confirmed that he intended to visit the Middle East immediately after the end of his mission at the U.N. General Assembly session.

Agreement on Afghanistan Announced

LD1309100591 Moscow TASS in English 0923 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 13 TASS—Follows the full text of the U.S.-Soviet joint statement on Afghanistan passed in Moscow today after the talks between USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker:

"The United States and the USSR, consistent with the UN General Assembly resolutions adopted at the forty-third, forty-fourth, and forty-fifth sessions and with their commitment to the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan, recognize the fundamental right of the Afghan people to determine their own destiny free from outside interference. In this regard, they support the statement of the UN secretary general dated May 21, 1991, and reaffirm the need for a political settlement in Afghanistan that ensures an independent and non-aligned Afghanistan at peace with its neighbours and that establishes a new, broad-based government through an electoral process that respects Afghan political and Islamic traditions. The United States and the USSR agree that a transition period is required to reach these goals.

To this end, they call for and pledge to support a democratic and free electoral process that is not subject to manipulation or interference by anyone. The results of the electoral process must be respected and fully implemented by all. They request the United Nations, with the support of concerned governments, including those of Islamic countries, to work with the Afghans to convene a credible and impartial transition mechanism whose functions would include directing and managing a credible electoral process fully consistently with these principles. This transition mechanism, working closely with the UN and others as necessary, would have independent authority with all powers required to prepare for, conduct, and implement the results of this electoral process leading to the establishment of a new people. The details of these and other powers and functions would be decided through an intra-Afghan dialogue.

The United States and the USSR agree that a cessation of hostilities is essential for the peaceful conduct of election during the transition period and for a lasting political settlement. To facilitate this cessation, they agree to discontinue their weapons deliveries to all Afghan sides. They also agree that a ceasefire and a cutoff of weapons deliveries from all other sources should follow this step. They agree further to work toward withdrawal of major weapons systems from Afghanistan.

The United States and the USSR also reiterate their commitment to support an international humanitarian assistance effort to promote the prompt repatriation of refugees and reconstruction of Afghanistan.

To these ends, they reaffirm their willingness to promote in every way possibly the efforts of the UN secretary general to contribute in practical ways to the early settlement of this conflict".

'Commentary' on Accord

LD1309094191 Moscow TASS in English 0929 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 13 TASS—Follows the text of the commentary by USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on the joint Soviet-U.S. statement on Afghanistan:

"Today, the USSR and the United States issued a joint statement on Afghanistan specifying agreed approaches of the sides to a political settlement in that country along the lines of the UN secretary general's statement of May 21, 1991.

Settlement of the issue of 'negative symmetry', that is discontinuation of Soviet and U.S. arms supplies to the conflicting Afghan sides, is one of the crucial elements of this agreement. The USSR and the United States agreed to cut off such supplies beginning January 1, 1992. They further agreed that neither the USSR nor the United States will intensify arms supplies to any Afghan side in the interim. It is also hoped that during the remaining time the issue of the Soviet POW's will be settled. The United States pledges its best efforts to resolve this important humanitarian question.

It is also expected that other countries involved in the Afghan conflict should also follow the USSR and the United States in limiting their assistance to Afghanistan to humanitarian assistance only.

We expected that our joint steps will facilitate launching an intra-Afghan negotiating process and should lead to a pause followed by a complete cessation of military operations."

Pankin's Meetings, Activities at CSCE Conference

Meets Cypriot, Bulgarian Ministers

LD1209184891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1749 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)— A meeting took place today between Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and Yeoryios Iakovou, minister of foreign affairs for the Republic of Cyprus, within the framework of the third meeting of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension. The ministers supported the further development of bilateral relations and constructive interaction between the USSR and the Republic of Cyprus in international affairs. Yeoryios Iakovou expressed gratitude for the USSR's consistent position on a Cypriot settlement.

During the course of a conversation between Boris Pankin and Viktor Vulkov, minister of foreign affairs for the Republic of Bulgaria, the mutual conviction was expressed that the principles of respect for sovereignty, equality, and mutual trust should form the basis of good-neighborly cooperation between the USSR and Bulgaria. The need for a renewal in bilateral relations in the form of a treaty and legislation was noted, taking into consideration the profound democratic changes in both countries.

In a conversation with Catherine Lalumiere, general secretary of the Council of Europe, Boris Pankin singled out the Council of Europe's positive role in building a new, democratic, and unified Europe and promoting pan-European cooperation, especially in the humanitarian, legal, and cultural spheres.

A mutual readiness was expressed to further develop relations between the USSR and the union republics and the Council of Europe, with the goal of imparting a new quality—the Soviet Union's full membership in this organization—to these relations. Catherine Lalumiere noted that the Council of Europe welcomes this intention and, on its part, will give all possible assistance to help ease the process of democratic reform in the USSR. An understanding on developing cooperation was reached, based upon the course of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Strasburg in 1989.

The same day Boris Pankin met with Edgar Savisaar, prime minister of the Estonian Republic. Questions of bilateral relations and certain topical international problems were examined in a friendly, good-neighborly atmosphere.

Holds Talks With Bulgaria's Vulkov

AU1209201291 Sofia BTA in English 1948 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, September 12 (BTA)—Today Bulgarian Foreign Minister Viktor Vulkov met Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin. The two foreign ministers exchanged opinions on the progress of the conference on the human dimensions in Moscow. The talks focused on bilateral relations.

Mr. Boris Pankin expressed gratitude to the president and the Government of Bulgaria for their stand during the attempted coup in Moscow.

The two sides declared themselves for broadening bilateral cooperation in the new conditions in their countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage.

Mr. Vulkov also met Mr. Ashot Yegizagaryan [spelling as received], acting foreign minister of the Republic of Armenia. The two ministers informed each other of the situation in their countries and agreed to broaden cooperation between Bulgaria and Armenia.

Yeltsin Activities, Meetings at CSCE Conference

Discusses Relations With Baker

OW1209070091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday, September 11, Russia's President Boris Yeltsin met with the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Mr. Yeltsin told journalists later that both President Gorbachev and he had promised to Mr. Baker that control over nuclear weapons would be firmly taken on by the center. "None of the republics will be admitted to the control buttons, whether or not it retains some part of the Army on its territory," Yeltsin said.

Describing his talks with Mr. Baker on the problem of the Kurile Islands claimed by Japan, Mr. Yeltsin said his attitude to the matter remained unchanged, although he believed that the 5-stage program he had earlier advanced should be translated into a reality not over the next 20 years but earlier, by compressing the time limits of each of the stages.

According to Russia's leader, Mr. Baker and he had discussed the Russian Federation's future relations with the other sovereign republics. They had given considerable attention to the interrepublican economic treaty and ways of getting action on Russia's economic, political, and social programs.

The two statesmen had also discussed Soviet-U.S. and Russian-U.S. relations, including in the light of cuts in nuclear, strategic, and conventional arms. They had considered a package of problems related to food supplies, particularly during the first few months of next year, and ending Soviet assistance, primarily weapons supplies, to Afghanistan and Cuba.

Meets With CSCE Delegates

OW1209090691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the "White House" on Moscow's Ksasnopresnenskaya Embankment, the RSFSR president Boris Yeltsin met on Wednesday with a group of delegates to the CSCE human rights conference, under way in the Soviet capital. Having observed that "our democracy looks like a child who is permanently ill," Mr. Yeltsin, however, expressed the hope that "Russia, which managed to cope with the reactionary offensive, will be strong enough to make a dash towards decent life." IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent quotes Mr. Yeltsin as saying that "there is but one road uncovered by mist: It's the road pursued by most of the world's nations."

Russia's leader called for creating an efficient mechanism of control over action on the CSCE decisions. He said the first "Helsinki group" organized here in 1976 had been the founder of the mass pro-democracy movement of today. Mr. Yeltsin expressed readiness to use European experience to work out a policy guaranteeing the observance of human rights and freedoms in Russia.

The dismantlement of the communist system in the country must not entail a clampdown on communist ideology or rank-and-file party members; it must be spearheaded against the ideology of the totalitarian regime and the CPSU bureaucratic leadership, B. Yeltsin said.

According to him, Russia is ready to slash its nuclear and conventional arsenals and army, and ban nuclear testing altogether.

Replying to questions from the audience, Mr. Yeltsin said the new Union would first and foremost be a coordinating center. The international treaties concluded by the Union would define only the basic principles of intergovernmental relations, the real content of which would be determined by the republics.

The RSFSR president said it would be too costly for Russia at present to join the United Nations or establish direct diplomatic relations with foreign countries. Under an agreement with the UN secretary-general, until the economic situation in the RSFSR became relatively stable, there would be Russia's permanent representative at the UN. [sentence as received] The republic would also send its permanent representatives to the Soviet embassies abroad in the near future. Mr. Yeltsin did not rule out, however, that with time the Russian Federation would open its own permanent missions in foreign countries.

Holds Talks With Turkey's Giray

TA1109182991 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1715 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow (AA)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin said here on Wednesday that he would like to visit Turkey in the near future, recalling that President Turgut Ozal personally invited him to Ankara during his visit to Moscow in March.

Yeltsin was speaking at a reception for foreign ministers currently in Moscow to attend a "human dimension" meeting organized within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Talking with Foreign Minister Safa Giray, Yeltsin said Turkey was "an important cooperation partner" of Russia. Giray also met on Wednesday morning with the current term president of the European Community Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek. Speaking later to reporters, Giray said they had discussed the EC Association Council meeting to be held at the end of this month and possible developdents in Turkish-EC relations in line with decisions to be taken at the meeting.

Meets With De Michelis

AU1109091591 Rome ANSA in English 0805 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] (ANSA) Moscow, September 10—While Italy is ready to speed up assistance to the Soviet Union, serious concerns remain on the stability of that nation even despite the blueprint adopted for its new form of unity, Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis told Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin during a meeting here Tuesday on the sidelines of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) session here.

The focus of their one-hour meeting centered on the prospects opened by the re-organization of the Soviet Union into a loose confederation of sovereign republics, which came about following the failed coup in August by communist hard-liners.

In reiterating Rome's position on the rapid changes taking place in the Soviet Union, De Michelis affirmed how they are sparking "great hope but also great concern" in Italy.

For his part, Yeltsin thanked both the Italian Government and De Michelis personally for the "support shown during the most decisive moments" of the failed coup against Soviet (?president) Mikhail Gorbachev.

The coup failed, he said, "not because of luck, but thanks to the will of the people," a fact which the Italian diplomatic chief said was appreciated by the whole world.

Before (?the meeting) with the Russian president, which was also attended by Rome's ambassador to Moscow, Ferdinando Salleo, and the Italian Foreign Ministry's general director for political affairs, Ambassador Raniero Vanni d'Archirafi, De Michelis examined the problems linked to the changes in Soviet society in talks with Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Committee for the Management of the Economy, and former Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Before returning to Rome later tonight, De Michelis will hold a press conference and attend the reception offered by President Gorbachev for the participants to the CSCE session dedicated to giving the CSCE a human dimension. De Michelis met with Gorbachev on Monday.

Silayev Meets With Baker at CSCE Conference

LD1209105191 Moscow TASS in English 1026 GMT 12 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—Ivan Silayev, chairman of the committee for the day-to-day running of the USSR's national economy, thinks that one of the results of his meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker today was the achievement of "full mutual understanding" on issues of lending economic support to the USSR by "Western countries, the United States and the entire group of seven major industrialised states".

In an interview with Soviet and foreign journalists following the completion of the meeting, Silayev described the talks held as "constructive".

"We did not talk about political aspects but discussed economic issues," Silayev said. "We agreed that aid will be organised and food delivered through the committee for the day-to-day running of the USSR's national economy with the exception of humanitarian aid that will come through Union and republican Red Cross societies."

Asked for how long the committee will exist, Silayev answered: "An economic agreement should, first and foremost, be concluded. We will submit its draft for the consideration of the State Council." After this document is signed by all those willing, "the committee will cease to exist". Silayev did not rule out the likelihood that some of the committee members will be included in an inter-republican economic committee to be set up later on.

Says Talks 'Very Constructive'

LD1209155391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1310 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Report by correspondent Valeriy Kiosa on the meeting between Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, head of the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR's National Economy, and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Moscow on 12 September; Silayev's comments recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kiosa] Before the meeting, Ivan Stepanovich Silayev told journalists that in September the Committee intends to present to the state council a plan for cooperation with the West on implementing economic reforms. James Baker and Ivan Silayev held an improvised news conference after the meeting. [passage omitted on Baker's comments]

The first thing journalists asked Ivan Silayev was his opinion on yesterday's report on his departure from the leadership of the Committee for the Operational Management of the Economy. Ivan Stepanovich Silayev stressed once again that it was the state council which made this decision, not him. Here is his assessment of the meeting with James Baker:

[Silayev] I assess the meeting as very constructive. We did not speak about any political issues, but right from the start we decided that we would speak about the economy, about our operational and strategic questions and matters. We reached full mutual understanding on all of these questions.

[Kiosa] Another question of interest to everyone was how Western aid would come to us—via the union or the republican structures?

[Silayev] This was one of the main questions which, I would say, is worrying our Western partners, including the United States. We said—and this is true—that the organization of aid to us and the supply of foodstuffs paid for by the credits being granted would be carried out through the Committee, separate from humanitarian aid, which would be implemented via our union and republican Red Cross. There you have it stated clearly. We have set out this principle in the document which we will submit on 16 September to the second meeting of the state council, which will determine the whole winter food program. We are taking up this task primarily in this way: autumn, winter, and spring. It must be done in a cycle.

[Kiosa] Ivan Silayev went on to stress that the specific figures for food aid were not spelled out at the meeting today but that they already exist and will be presented to the state council on 16 September and then reported to the Western partners.

Finally, here is another quotation from Silayev, this time about the fate of the Committee for the Operational Management of the Economy:

[Silayev] An economic agreement should be concluded, and we have submitted it for the state council's consideration. Yavlinskiy will give a detailed report on 16 September on the principles and approaches of this economic agreement. As soon as it has been signed by at least a considerable number of those who wish to do so, the committee will cease to exist. At the same time, a considerable proportion of its members could evidently receive places in the future interrepublican economic committee.

Discusses Reforms, U.S. Aid

LD1209204191 Moscow TASS in English 1959 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—Head of the Soviet Committee for Management of National Economy Ivan Silayev on Thursday met U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Baker reiterated the United States's readiness to help carry out political and economic reforms in the Soviet Union.

He said the United States will provide humanitarian and technological aid regardless of the current developments in the Soviet Union but will postpone financial assistance until the economic situation stabilises.

He informed Silayev about U.S. President George Bush's decision to accelerate humanitarian aid to the USSR.

Baker praised Silayev's role in building a new economic union of sovereign republics, which will be vital for the whole world.

He also welcomed the Soviet Union's efforts to solve the Baltic problem, reconsider its relations with Cuba and cut military expenditures.

Silayev informed Baker about current problems in the country and measures that are being taken by the government to solve them, prioritising food, medicines and fuel supplies.

He said the Soviet Union's foreign debt is also a serious problem. Silayev expressed hope the Soviet Union's associative membership of the International Monetary Fund will help improve its "credit rating".

Baker expressed satisfaction with his meetings with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Baker and Silayev agreed to continue the dialogue.

Comments on Foreign Credits Noted

LD1009203491 Hamburg DPA in German 1951 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow (DPA/VWD)—According to Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev, the USSR's foreign credits will continue to be serviced by the Union. The Russian Information Agency RIA reported that this was stated by Silayev during a meeting with Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek in Moscow today. Van den Broek earlier attended the special session of the CSCE.

The Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, which Silayev heads, stated that from January 1992 the Moscow government will no longer guarantee credits assigned to the republics.

According to information from RIA, a delegation from the Soviet Foreign Trade Bank is currently negotiating with a Western banking consortium in Brussels about a credit totalling 500 million European currency units (about 1 billion marks). RIA gave no further details.

Moscow Mayor Holds Talks With Baker at CSCE

LD1209131291 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 12 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Ruben Shirinyan]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov today met visiting U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. The meeting was held on Baker's initiative.

Popov told correspondents before the meeting that Western investments in the city economy are very important for Moscow.

Journalists were not admitted to the meeting in the Moscow Council.

Popov on Aid, Reactionary 'Threat'

OW1209175491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Moscow City Soviet building was the venue for a meeting on Thursday between Mayor of Moscow Gavriil Popov and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. Before the meeting Popov told journalists that the practical benefit from Baker's visit to Moscow would, in his opinion, be associated with possible investments on the part on Western businesses at "key points in the Moscow economy."

"Western aid is focused excessively on patching holes, but we need to prevent such holes appearing in the economy in the first place," the mayor of Moscow continued.

Popov voiced the opinion that as long as everything continued to be owned by the state and the structures associated with it the threat from reactionary forces would persist. "But they do not represent the main danger at present. This is to be found in the fact that the democratic forces have not yet been capable of agreeing among themselves," the mayor of Moscow noted.

RSFSR's Kozyrev Holds Talks With Baker at CSCE

LD1209164591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1622 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)—The press service of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Foreign Ministry reports that a meeting between Andrey Kozyrev, foreign minister of the Russian Federation, and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker took place today. A number of practical issues in Soviet-U.S. relations and Russian-U.S. links were discussed, following yesterday's meeting between RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin and James Baker. On the U.S. side, support for democratic and radical economic reforms in the country was confirmed. The participants agreed to develop continual dialogue and working contacts.

Views Baker-Silayev Meeting

LD1209211691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1904 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Interview with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov on the meeting between Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on 12 September; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Osipov] In your view, how did the meeting go? What kind of economic and humanitarian aid will be given to our country?

[Kozyrev] First, the meeting was very businesslike. There was truly an atmosphere in which it was clear that they wanted to help us and that we were ready to accept this help with an open heart and soul, because during the events outside the White House it was clear that it was the Western countries and the democratic United States which were giving us political support. Now they are prepared to give us economic support.

But there are a number of complicated, objective problems that were subjected to rapid, bilateral analysis. The first problem concerns urgent humanitarian aid in view of the possible complications in the food supply for the population during the autumn and winter. Here they are ready to give us aid; they have already adopted a special plan. What they want from us is proper organization—there should be some sort of centralized committee with which they could deal; in other words, the aid should not lie around in our storehouses.

[Osipov] Did our side say that this committee will be set up?

[Kozyrev] Yes, Ivan Stepanovich Silayev has already said that such a committee has already been set up, and there is already an understanding with the republics that this should be done in an organized manner.

[Osipov] Did you have in mind only Moscow and Leningrad, or outlying areas as well?

[Kozyrev] The whole country is being considered, including all of Russia and even the other republics to the extent that they wish to participate in any coordinating mechanisms. In so far as this does not infringe upon anyone's sovereignty, they want to participate.

[Osipov] Did they give any figures for this aid, any total amount of foodstuffs?

[Kozyrev] No figures were mentioned, but I understand that our foreign friends are prepared to go quite far—in effect, as much as is needed. That is the approach. Of course, the totals and volumes are limited, but we must state precisely how much we need. This will be more clear when we see how we have coped with the harvest and so on. That is the first requirement, because everyone obviously begins to get tired if you go around with your hand held out.

The second aspect is a more serious discussion about economic reform and cooperation in this area. Here, too, I believe there was a very substantive discussion. Once again, they need to know one thing: What sort of reform plan we have, and who is participating in it—which republics. They would like more to participate, and so would we. But they are prepared to give a great amount of aid; no figures have been specified, but of course with the opportunities they have—which are quite great—they will look at our requirements. But the task is to make it clear what we ourselves want, what path we are moving along. As the saying goes, they will give us the gas. They are also prepared to help us to determine our route as well. I would even say that this is not so much aid but rather participation. There will be an investment of intellectual and financial capital.

Shevardnadze Meets With Baker, Others at CSCE

LD1209180491 Moscow TASS in English 1759 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker visited the headquarters of the Democratic Reform Movement (DRM) here today and had talks with one of the DRM leaders, Eduard Shevardnadze, a DRM spokesman told TASS at the DRM press centre.

On the same day Shevardnadze met and had talks, in particular, with the foreign ministers of Germany, Britain, Italy, France, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, and Belgium.

Mutual cooperation was discussed.

Composition of CSCE Delegation to UN Assembly

OW1209201091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 12 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet president's press service has informed "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] that Mikhail Gorbachev has signed a document naming the Soviet delegation for the 46th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. It will be led, as was generally assumed, by Boris Pankin, continuing the tradition that the Soviet delegation to the U.N. General Assembly is led by the Foreign Minister.

The delegation's deputy head will be Vladimir Petrovskiy, the first deputy foreign minister and executive secretary of the current CSCE Moscow Conference on the Human Dimension. The well-known diplomat and permanent Soviet representative at the United Nations, Yuliy Vorontsov, is also included in the delegation.

Unlike in previous years when the Soviet delegation included just one minister from one or other of the Union republics, this year two such ministers have been named. They are the foreign minister of Kyrgyzstan, Murat Imanaliyev, and Turkmenia's foreign minister, Avdy Kuliyev.

It was earlier assumed that the delegation would include a representative from the Russian Federation. However, as "DP" was told by the Soviet Foreign Ministry's International Organisations Section (IOS) no official enquiries from Russian foreign policy agencies were received in this regard. But, as a senior IOS official commented, this does not exclude the possibility of Russia being represented at the General Assembly. Moreover, Russian representation could well be "at a very high level." It is possible that RSFSR Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev or one of his deputies will go to New York. (The RSFSR Foreign Ministry declined to confirm or deny this).

As far as other Union republics are concerned, the IOS official said that all of them had been invited to join the Soviet delegation and that agreement had been reached on participation on a rotation basis, allowing for the substitution of one republican representative by another every three or four weeks. This scheme would ensure that all the sovereign republics get to take part in the work of the General Assembly.

However, by no means all of the republics have agreed to join the Soviet delegation. As well as Turkmenia and Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan also intend to send representatives to New York.

"DP" has also learned that the date of the Soviet delegation's arrival in New York has not yet been set. The 46th session of the United Nations General Assembly will open on September 17th and the head of the Soviet delegation is scheduled to speak on September 24th. The delegation could arrive on 19th or, more likely, 21st September.

Gorbachev Confers With SFRY's Loncar at CSCE

OW1209103691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0030 GMT 12 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday the USSR President M. Gorbachev conferred with the Yugoslav foreign minister Budimir Loncar.

The meeting was very useful, said a spokesman for the 3rd European department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. According to him, B. Loncar briefed the Soviet leader on the situation in Yugoslavia. Neither the federal nor republican government bodies are capable of influencing the development of events, he said.

According to the Foreign Ministry spokesman, President M. Gorbachev reaffirmed his country's willingness to contribute to the efforts to stabilize the state of affairs in Yugoslavia. As for the Yugoslav leadership, it believes that the soonest normalization of the situation in the USSR would undoubtedly be conducive to reaching a compromise in Yugoslavia and to creating efficacious government bodies in the period of transition.

The spokesman drew attention to the fact that precisely this idea was expressed by the Soviet president in his statement for the Conference on Human Dimension convened in Moscow under the CSCE. The endeavors to resolve its own internal problems by the Soviet Union, M. Gorbachev pointed out, are "our main contribution to world politics."

According to the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, Moscow's recognition of the independence of the 3 Baltic states had no impact on the situation in Yugoslavia. In any case this theme was not discussed at the meeting between M. Gorbachev and B. Loncar.

When asked about the possibility of the Soviet Union's joining the European Community's peace conference on a settlement in Yugoslavia, the spokesman said that in his view at the moment Belgrade is not interested in expanding the number of participants in it. Apart from EC countries, the conference involves the 6 Yugoslav republics.

MID Official on Talks

OW0909194891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 9 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As DP's [Diplomatic Panorama's] correspondent has learned at the USSR Foreign Ministry's Third European Department, the Yugoslav foreign minister Budimir Loncar arrives in Moscow today to take part in the human rights conference. A MID [Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs] official said President Gorbachev might meet with Mr. Loncar already tomorrow to discuss the prospects of a settlement in Yugoslavia. The same problem would be discussed at length during Mr. Loncar's planned meeting with his Soviet colleague Boris Pankin. Yugoslavia is pinning considerable hopes on these talks, the MID official said.

He described the present situation in Yugoslavia as "rather difficult" and observed that official recognition by foreign states of the independence of any of the Yugoslav republics would now be "counterproductive," since it might trigger "irreversible processes burying the very possibility of compromise in Yugoslavia."

The Soviet diplomat stressed the point that the Brioni agreements were still in effect, including the three-month moratorium on all acts related to the proclamation of republican independence. He said the EC-sponsored settlement process, under way in Yugoslavia despite all the existing difficulties, could see a further development as a result of the meetings and talks in Moscow.

Asked about the fate of the Soviet TV journalists Viktor Nogin and Gennadiy Kurinniy who had left for Croatia one week ago to videofilm hostilities there, the diplomat said that every imaginable effort to trace their whereabouts had so far been fruitless.

Leaders Address Conference on Human Dimension

Pankin Speaks at CSCE Forum

LD1209114191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1647 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Speech by USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin at CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension in Moscow on 11 September]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—Esteemed Mr. Chairman:

With reference to what has already been said in this hall, it is, I think, possible to state that the Moscow conference has gathered good momentum. Naturally, the main thing is the results it will lead to, but you will agree that the very fact that it is being held in our country is also important. This country is a fundamentally new state as far as our history is concerned. I have in mind not just the official decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies, which have transformed the former Soviet Union into a voluntary community of sovereign states, nor the fact that the three Baltic republics—a part of the USSR earlier on—have become sovereign and independent states and joined today the other participants of our conference as CSCE members with equal rights. I am thinking also of the new society which has taken shape in this country over the past few years and has placed the individual, as a true measure of all things, in the center and at the basis of its policies. On this historic day both for the Soviet Union and for all of Europe, I want to cordially greet the official representatives of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia and to express confidence that these European states which have acquired their independence and, at the same time, full rights as members of the international community will also take upon themselves full responsibility for respecting and observing the international obligations in the area of observing and protecting human rights and freedoms, to which our conference is devoted.

I will not conceal from you that there have been considerable doubts about whether such a momentous forum should be held in Moscow just over two weeks after the putsch, at a time when the political situation in the country is in such turmoil and is developing so rapidly, and when the consequences of radical changes are still difficult to predict. There have also been, as we remember, doubts of an altogether different kind, concerning not only the events of the past few weeks. Doubts concerning the question of whether the choice of Moscow as the venue for the finale of the all-European symphony on the subject of the human dimension in contemporary politics was justified have persistently dogged our proposal to hold this conference in the Soviet Union since it was put forward in November 1986, five years ago. Today we can all justifiably feel satisfied that the holding of the conference during the present period of transition has justified the belief in the mighty democratic potential of our people and in their adherence to the ideals of freedom, justice, and human dignity.

"Only those are worthy of life and freedom who daily fight for them"—these universally known words of the great Goethe can, with full justification, be applied to the courage, self-sacrifice, and daily battle for democracy that uncompromising champions of democracy and human rights have been waging in this country throughout the many years of the totalitarian regime. Sergey Kovalev, co-chairman of the Soviet delegation to our forum, is their outstanding representative. The poet's words also characterize the agonizing and far from easy progress of Soviet perestroyka, which has become a process of a genuine democratic awakening of society and its transition to a conscious struggle with the antihuman totalitarian system. Naturally, these words must be applied also to the feat of thousands upon thousands of our fellow citizens who, having defended the White House in Moscow, have at long last stormed their Bastille—the very foundation of the authoritarian, one-party, ideologized regime.

To stand beside those who previously attended conferences on the humanitarian aspects of the Helsinki process, Moscow had to undergo the same process as experienced in Berlin in 1953, Budapest in 1956, and Prague in 1968, when unarmed people—who nevertheless were faithful to the ideas of democracy until the end—fearlessly threw down the gauntlet to the tanks. The fact that this time in Moscow it was not foreign tanks but our own confirms yet again that the frontiers of freedom do not coincide with the frontiers of states and that the cause of its defense is just as indivisible as conscience, truth, and morality—for these basic concepts cannot be subject to political expediency. It is no coincidence that immediately after the putsch in Moscow a winged phrase was born in Prague: The putschists wanted to repeat 21 August 1968 in Moscow but got 17 November 1989, the day when the "Velvet Revolution" took place.

The USSR president's speech at this conference of ours demonstrated yet again our profound adherence to the all-European process, the faithfulness to the country's international obligations. We are of the view that the conference will facilitate a stabilization of the domestic situation in the Soviet Union, a consolidation of the democratic forces and movements around such immutable values as democracy, human rights, and freedom. It is precisely against these values that the abortive putschists struck, and it is precisely these values that the people rose to defend. The steadfastness of the country's president and the courage and resolute actions of the leadership of the Russian Federation headed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin were as one here. During those tragic and at the same time heroic days, our fellow citizens defended not just their freedom but also the freedom of other peoples of the Soviet Union and, in essence, of the whole world. We are grateful to the international community and the CSCE member states for the solidarity and support they showed us during that hard time.

Perestroyka has brought to the forefront people who are ready to sacrifice everything for freedom. The best democratic traditions of the political thought and literature that always characterized the progressive public in Russia and other peoples of our country have also made themselves felt here. Read carefully the declaration of human rights and freedoms that the USSR Congress of the People's Deputies adopted several days ago and you will have proof of that. The package of laws directly concerned with human rights and adopted in the USSR is further proof. These are creating a legal base to build a law-governed state step by step. the law on public associations has legally enshrined political pluralism and opened up the doors to a multiparty system. The law on the press gave our mass media a genuine plurality of voices along the whole gamut of views. The law on the freedom of conscience and religious organizations gave this important right to our citizens. The law on leaving and entering the USSR has been adopted, and the time separating us from its introduction should be reduced.

There has also been progress in solving a complicated social question in our country: to legally ensure the Soviet citizen's right to freedom of movement and choice of place of residence within the confines of the territory of the USSR. There is also another, broader aspect of this problem. There should be no closed zones on the whole territory of the all-European democratic area. Everyone, both citizens of one's own country and foreigners, ought to be able to move about freely. The fact that, in conjunction with the legal community in the USSR, the majority of individual humanitarian cases has been resolved is also of fundamental importance. In fact, this topic has ceased to be an issue in bilateral dialogue with CSCE countries, and we are absolutely dedicated to bringing this matter to completion. Careful, painstaking work is now under way to examine those remaining individual cases which give rise to equivocal appraisals and which require an all-round objective analysis and resolution in the nearest future. I hope this issue will be resolved.

As is known, cases of exit visas being refused do continue to take place in our country. In this respect, too, it is evidently necessary to review things in accordance with a provision of the international pact on civic and political rights and on the inadmissibility of restricting this right, except in cases strictly provided for by law, when it is really required to protect state security. Any restrictions on exits should, in terms of time, be in strict accordance with international standards.

The necessity of getting down to improving the situation in places of imprisonment came to a head a long time ago. After all, prisoners who are serving the sentences they deserve also have a right to defend their human dignity and to live in proper conditions. They should not be subjected to humiliations or inhuman treatment. The lengthy periods of preliminary investigation in which persons under investigation are kept under guard and the severity of punishment for prisoners who violate rules give rise to justified criticism, as does failing to comply with international standards. Work to rehabilitate persons serving their sentences on the basis of political articles of the criminal code has begun. We also intend to announce an amnesty for people serving sentences on the basis of the articles mentioned above and articles that have been repealed, as well as for people for whom there are grounds to suppose that political motives played a part in their sentencing. One can hope that decisions on these questions will also have been made by the end of the conference. The task consists of creating reliable barriers against similar situations arising in the future and in bringing into play effective mechanisms that would guarantee an unconditional restoration of the individual's rights, should they be violated.

Of course, by no means am I ready to sound the victory trumpets. Our approach is one of critical analysis, and we shall have nothing to complain about if our country's state of affairs is viewed from precisely that point of view. As they say, things can be seen better from the outside.

In drafting new laws and improving practices in the humanitarian sphere, we are striving to implement common human and common European values, taking the best from the enormous experience accumulated by Europe, the United States, and Canada.

In the period since the Copenhagen conference, the Soviet Union has become party to the optional protocol of the international pact on civil and political rights and has withdrawn its reservations concerning the international convention on eliminating all forms of racial discrimination and the convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman, or humiliating treatment and punishment. In doing so we have recognized without restriction the whole system of universal control mechanisms in the sphere of human rights on our territory.

Now we must go farther and introduce into the humanitarian sphere a system of confidence-building measures, inspections, and checks, something like those used in the military sphere.

Problems that have been brewing in our country for decades have led to a drastic worsening of the socioeconomic situation. The issue of social protection for the population has been put on a completely new plane.

The former pseudo-federalist forms, devoid of genuine democratic content, have ended up in crisis. So far we have not been able to extinguish interethnic conflicts, as a result of which perfectly innocent people are dying and hundreds of thousands of refugees—victims of these conflicts—are scattered around the country.

I would like to emphasize in particular: This is not just a Soviet problem. Before our eyes, the issue of interethnic relations and the situation of ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples has become one of the urgent issues in international politics. This has been mentioned by virtually every speaker at this rostrum. What is required is a collective elaboration of additional instruments to prevent or de-escalate interethnic confilcts.

The time has come when the need to work out pan-European approaches to problems of migration is literally knocking at the door. We cannot allow a curtain of alienation and opposition to fall again in Europe.

The morality of any society is determined by its attitude toward the weakest and most defenseless. In this connection we propose that special attention be paid to protecting the rights and interests of vulnerable groups in the countries of Europe—children, invalids, the sick, and the elderly. Problems with the position of women in society merge in here, too, to a large extent.

What are we in the Soviet Union expecting first and foremost from the Moscow humanitarian forum? A qualitatively new step forward along the great road that the CSCE countries have traversed while bringing their ideas about human rights closer together.

As a result of Helsinki and Paris, of Vienna and Copenhagen, we have arrived at a common conclusion: However important it is to declare the correct principles, we must speak first and foremost about the creation of reliable guarantees for their implementation.

One of the chief lessons that we have learned for ourselves, including those learned during the very latest events, is that such guarantees can only be effective if they are based not only on a national foundation but on an international one. However important the principle of noninterference in internal affairs, the supremacy of human rights and basic freedoms must be absolutely beyond dispute.

In our opinion, the improvement of the CSCE human dimension mechanism—in all its component parts, from monitoring implementation of the principle of free elections to freedom of movement—should become a topic for joint consideration.

Of course, we should give thought to the future of the human dimension. We think that, at an organizational level, the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension could become one of the permanent structures of the Helsinki process. The committed joint participation of all states in the conference would enable us to aim for higher all-European standards in the area of human rights and to achieve authentic continuity between Helsinki-1 and the approaching Helsinki-2. It is in precisely this frame of mind that the Soviet delegation is at the Moscow conference.

In discussing matters of developing humanitarian cooperation, we in this hall have been constantly aware of the pulse of parallel ventures. They have become a permanent part of the process, confer its life-breath upon it, and are directly linked to public opinions of our countries. The time has evidently come when parallels meet, as they do in Lobachevskiy's non-Euclidian geometry. We are in favor of the two-fold nature of our process growing stronger for the good of our peoples.

Mr. Chairman!

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which recently came to an end, adopted a number of decisions of principle that represent the start of a new phase in the life of our country. The road from these decisions to their practical implementation will not be easy. But we are convinced that having taken a breath of freedom, the people will not deviate from that road, however difficult it may be, and we are banking on the support of the international democratic community in achieving the just ends we have set.

Turkish Minister on Migrant Workers

TA1109190491 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Turkey has proposed a meeting of experts hosted by Turkey within the framework of the CSCE's human rights conference to deal with the problems of migrant workers. Foreign Minister Safa Giray today addressed the conference being held in Moscow to detail Turkey's views. Giray explained that the meeting proposed by Turkey would contribute to improving the social integration of migrant workers, who are subject to racism and chauvinism.

According to a report by ANATOLIA, Giray also referred to problems faced by ethnic minorities, stressing that Turks living in Greece are oppressed simply for declaring their Turkish identity. He then recalled the injustices inflicted on Turks living in Western Thrace. Giray expressed his hope that the mistake committed in Bulgaria by not permitting the Rights and Liberties Movement, composed mostly of ethnic Turks, to run in elections will be amended before the voting is held.

Estonian, Albanian Delegates Speak

LD1109224591 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Estonian Deputy Foreign Minister Rein Mullerson on Wednesday told the human rights conference in Moscow that independence is not a goal in itself but a means to bear responsibility for one's life.

This is the first CSCE conference Estonia is attending as an equal member.

Mullerson stressed that the world community's support to a large extent ensured the success of Estonia's drive for independence. On behalf of the republic, he expressed readiness to observe commonly accepted norms of international law and sign certain human rights acts.

Albanian Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani reiterated Albania's adherence to international law, democracy, pluralism, and the course of European civilisation.

Albania joined the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe two months ago.

USSR Ministry Spokesman Speaks

LD1209151991 Moscow TASS in English 1052 GMT 12 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Pershin: "CSCE Conference Continuing"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—After a two-day opening ceremony, which included speeches of foreign ministers, the conference got down to practical work today.

Heads of foreign ministries were replaced by their deputies and experts in the Column Hall in the House of Unions. Opening the working part of the conference, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that the ministers' statements laid a solid foundation for working out innovatory positive resolutions and a final document.

A U.S. representative pointed to a favourable atmosphere at the forum and expressed readiness to welcome any constructive initiative of the Soviet delegation.

Observers point out, however, that it will not be easy to reach final consensus and transfer it from the stage of general statements to a clear and concrete wording of the final document. The diplomats have much work to do, and their negotiating marathon is planned to be finished on October 4.

Polish Foreign Minister's Activities at CSCE

Meets With Pankin, Others

LD1009225891 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who is leading the Polish delegation to the Moscow CSCE conference, met today with Boris Pankin and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the heads of Soviet and German diplomacy, and also with Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas.

In his talk with Boris Pankin, Minister Skubiszewsi stated that whatever the shape of the new union of republics, which still today make up the Soviet Union, relations on political issues and security matters must be based on CSCE principles.

The main issue tackled in Krzysztof Skubiszewski's talk with Hans-Dietrich Genscher was the matter of compensation for the victims of Nazism in Poland.

Minister Skubiszewski talked to Algirdas Saudargas about problems linked with the situation of the Polish minority in Lithuania.

Comments on Baltics' Role at Meeting

LD1109211191 Warsaw PAP in English 1440 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sept 11—Speaking on Wednesday at the Moscow CSCE conference on human rights, Poland's foreign minister, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, expressed extreme satisfaction at the participation of representatives from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

He emphasised that the new Polish Government always supported the aspirations of these European nations to independence. "We are pleased that they can now join in the Helsinki process" said the minister. On behalf of the Polish Government he expressed the hope that all the resolutions of the CSCE in the area of human rights, including the resolutions concerning national minorities, will be realised in full by the Baltic states.

Referring to the recent events in the Soviet Union, the Polish foreign minister thought that the fiasco of the attempted coup proved that the democratic changes in Europe are irreversible and that nations want to continue democratisation. If the republics decided to join in the Helsinki process after attaining statehood as understood by international law—they should be welcomed with open arms as partners.

The minister then turned to the tragic contrast between the peaceful changes in Central Europe and the escalation of the civil war in Yugoslavia. He emphasised that Poland was taking part in efforts aimed at resolving the Yugoslav conflict with measures provided for by the CSCE mechanism. Poland fully supported the Common Market initiative.

Skubiszewski dealt with the increasing numbers of migrants and stressed that this was above all a humanitarian problem. In seeking an adequate solution we must balance basic state interests with the defence of basic human rights.

According to the minister a distinction had to be drawn between the individual's freedom of movement and the right to settle in another country. Poland proposed a joint European system for controlling illegal immigration and an adequate system of information.

The prevention of mass migration required international cooperation and coordination. Poland supported the proposal to call a special meeting under the aegis of the CSCE, which will take up consular issues.

In connection with this, Skubiszewski emphasised that everything should be done to speed up the elimination of the economic disproportions between different parts of Europe. Recalling the recent CSCE symposium on cultural heritage, which took place in Krakow, the minister proposed a conference devoted to the protection and development of cultural freedoms in a united Europe.

Walesa Visit, Troop Pullout Linked

LD1109200191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Excerpts] The chairman of the Polish delegation, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, took the floor at the third CSCE meeting [on the human dimension] taking place in Moscow today. [passage omitted]

Our diplomatic chief took advantage of his stay in Moscow for bilateral and multilateral meetings. He spoke with the foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia and Hungary and with representatives of the European Community on the subject of its cooperation with Poland, as well as other representatives. He also had the opportunity to have a short conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, as well as a deeper dialogue with Boris Pankin.

In answer to my question whether the question of Lech Walesa's visit to the Soviet Union was raised during the latter meeting, Minister Skubiszewski replied:

[Begin Skubiszewski recording] We mentioned this visit, but not as a separate subject. We noted that some issues in relations between Poland and the USSR which should have been resolved a long time ago had still not been resolved. These included the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Poland. It is not normal that the USSR has not yet signed such a treaty with Poland, despite the fact that we proposed the move a long time ago. We were and are flexible. We have changed our demands regarding the date of withdrawal; we agree to next year, although these troops could easily be withdrawn in 1991. Undoubtedly, progress in this matter will have an effect on the question of the visit. We cannot separate one from the other. However, I see certain prospects for progress in this matter. [end recording]

Hungarian Minister Cited on 'Useful' CSCE Talks

LD1109040191 Budapest MTI in English 1729 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, September 10 (MTI)—Hungary's joining the European Communities and possibilities of settling the Yugoslav crisis were at the centre of the bilateral talks conducted by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky with the representative of the Western states participating at the human rights conference in Moscow and with a representative of the Council of Europe.

In his statement given to MTI's correspondent on Tuesday, Jeszenszky qualified these consultations as very useful.

Jeszenszky said the foreign ministers of the Netherlands, Germany and Italy had also confirmed that the process of Hungary's joining the EC would not be hindered by the failure of EC foreign ministers to come to an agreement last week on easing the restrictions for the agricultural exports of the East-Central European countries including those of Hungary.

"EC experts are currently working to solve the problem and I am sure they will be able to find a solution that suits all parties. The Dutch side, as the current president of the EC, has assured me of that," Jeszenszky said.

All three negotiating partners have emphasized the need for resolving the Yugoslav crisis as soon as possible. Speaking about the German stand, which is very close to the Hungarian position, Jeszenszky stated, "Germany is also urging the invitation of independent experts and permanent bilateral and multilateral consultations. The Yugoslav situation is rapidly changing and it is the responsibility of us all to follow the changes and prevent the escalation of armed conflict."

A leading Serbian politician is expected to visit Budapest in the coming days, Jeszenszky said. The Hungarian Government has already negotiated with nearly all the sides affected in the conflict, including the Federal leadership of Yugoslavia.

'Hard Times' Face Union Foreign Ministry

PM1109131491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

[M. Yusin article: "USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium Disbands Itself: Hard Times for the Country's Main Diplomatic Department"]

[Text] The USSR Foreign Ministry will never be the same again. That is obvious to everyone today. Optimists (and there are not many of them now among the inhabitants of the skyscraper on Smolensk Square), reconciled to the inevitable reduction in staffing levels and the transfer of key functions to republic ministries, have not lost hope that the Foreign Ministry will continue to exist in the new conditions. Pessimistic predictions are more common—based on the view that the emerging Union of Sovereign States will not need a suprarepublic foreign policy department at all.

Clouds are gathering over Smolensk Square. The tumultuous events of recent weeks shook the Foreign Ministry to its foundations. The former minister and some of his deputies behaved far from irreproachably during the days of the putsch. To say nothing of the ambassadors, who discredited the ministry still more with their zealous execution of SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] decrees. On top of everything, the Foreign Ministry found itself decapitated: On Monday the ministry collegium announced that it was disbanding itself.

"Very dangerous processes are now under way at the Foreign Ministry," an expert from one of the administrations told the editorial office. Instead of radical perestroyka, in his opinion, the facade is merely being polished: "The old cadres who have held on to key posts are incapable of carrying out the overdue reforms. As a result the Foreign Ministry could prove to be an organization that is incapable of reforming itself—as was the case with the CPSU and the KGB." Furthermore, in our interlocutor's opinion the struggle has intensified at the ministry between two groupings—the Americanists and the Europeanists. With the fall of Bessmertnykh, the balance of forces has changed in favor of the latter, and this will inevitably lead to corresponding cadre changes in the near future. The alarm must be sounded urgently, this expert says.

The ministry's leaders naturally take a different view. None of the high-ranking diplomats I spoke with in recent days agreed with the view that the confrontation between two groupings plays a decisive role here. "These assertions are a gross exaggeration," one of my interlocutors declared confidently. "Naturally, there is and always has been a certain rivalry between Europeanists and Americanists. But, first, there are no clearly delimited hostile groupings at the Foreign Ministry, and, second, whoever may head the ministry today, neither of the main directions of our foreign policy—neither Europe nor the United States—is going to recede into the background." In his opinion, none of the recent cadre reshuffles confirms the theory that the "European clan" has seized power in Smolensk Square.

Another very important question is this: Is the Foreign Ministry capable of reforming itself, are today's cadres capable of implementing radical transformations? "I am not inclined to be pessimistic," Vladimir Petrovskiy, the new first deputy foreign minister, says. "I am sure the diplomatic service is capable of reforming and renewing itself. What is happening at the ministry now is not a redistribution of influence between groupings, but a clearing of the way for those who will resolutely pursue the Gorbachev-Shevardnadze line in foreign policy."

Very difficult times lie ahead for the Foreign Ministry—its leaders make no secret of this. Large-scale cuts lie ahead. "By at least half," according to a well-informed ministry staffer. First and foremost, KGB staffers are leaving behind their Foreign Ministry "cover," and will be "going over to their main work." The new minister Boris Pankin has unequivocally declared determination to carry out this purge. But even the pure diplomats are unlikely to escape being sifted out. Ministry staffing levels are excessive—virtually all my interlocutors acknowledged this. One reason was the need to carry out a process of continual rotation at the embassies. Every diplomat abroad had a potential replacement who worked at the central apparatus.

In the new conditions the situation will change radically. The center's role has been immeasurably reduced, and Soviet embassies abroad will represent mainly the republics' interests. There will be a decentralization of international ties. In view of the heterogeneity of our union, this is objectively overdue. Skilled Foreign Ministry specialists will inevitably start moving over to republic ministries. They should not be left without a job: There may be different views of the system of selecting cadres in yesterday's Foreign Ministry, but there is no escaping the fact that we simply have no other specialists—no alternative school of diplomacy existed.

Many people in Smolensk Square are worried that the Russian Foreign Ministry leaders who are now in the saddle (and whom until recently the Union ministry used to look down on) will be none too pleased to see yesterday's rivals appearing in their ranks. There will undoubtedly be difficulties of a psychological nature, but my interlocutors at the USSR Foreign Ministry hope that in general the transfusion of cadres will proceed painlessly. That would be above all in the interests of Russia and its foreign policy. The new Minister Boris Pankin has stated several times that he has "excellent relations" with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Foreign Ministry leadership, and his deputies are already working in close, almost daily contact with their Russian colleagues.

What role will the Union Foreign Ministry play in the international arena? This will depend largely on the status of the new association—the Union of Sovereign States (USS). It is well known that the Soviet leadership has declared its readiness to support requests by all the republics to join the United Nations and the CSCE. That means that any day now the 12 sovereign states which formally still belong to the USSR will become full members of the international community. The question of whether the Union will retain the right to vote at the United Nations if all the republics belonging to the USS receive that right, remains open. There is no precedent in world practice. And it is unlikely that new rules providing for "dual membership" will be invented for the Soviet Union's benefit, even in the light of our special situation.

A compromise option is now being discussed, whereby the republics join the United Nations but the union keeps its place among the permanent members of the Security Council. "It is possible that, in time, interstate associations will become part of the Security Council—the USS (formerly the USSR), the EC, ASEAN, and others. That would reflect the trend toward integration that is dominant in the world today," a high-ranking Soviet diplomat believes.

Speaking about the future of the Union and its role in the international arena, specialists increasingly frequently cite the example of the EC. Twelve independent and sovereign European states have delegated some of their political and economic powers to the center. The reverse process is taking place in the USSR: The republics are acquiring increasing autonomy, but the center continues to fulfill important functions—in the sphere of security, space research, and ecology—and guarantees the observance of the USSR's international commitments. "We may be moving along converging paths to one and the same option—the optimum degree of interstate integration. Similar processes are also taking place in Asia (ASEAN) and Africa," Vladimir Petrovskiy says.

The USSR-EC parallel helps us to see from a concrete illustration how a single foreign policy is formed within an interstate association, which our country, by all appearances, is moving toward. There is no EC Foreign Ministry, but there are committees and commissions of the European Parliament that deal with international affairs. Furthermore EC embassies have been opened in dozens of countries. In the foreign policy sphere, the 12 EC countries are increasingly frequently forming a united front. We saw this from the example of the coordinated European policy on the Persian Gulf war and the Yugoslav crisis. Let us remember that the EC states also recognized the Baltic republics' independence simultaneously—in a joint declaration.

But let us not forget that there are virtually no serious disagreements or conflicts between EC countries. Unfortunately the same cannot be said for the Soviet republics. Could the USS have formulated a single policy with regard to Saddam Husayn, given that six of its republics are Muslim? "The task of the Union Foreign Ministry will be precisely to seek a compromise solution in such situations and formulate an agreed position," one of my interlocutors believes. "In the course of a long diplomatic career I have become convinced that consensus is not such an unattainable thing as it appears at first glance."

So one of the main areas of Foreign Ministry activity in the new conditions is to coordinate the foreign policy of the USS member states. Or, as Vladimir Petrovskiy put it, to fulfill a "coordinating-consultative function." Certain global problems will also most likely be tackled at the union level. First and foremost those relating to disarmament—in view of the fact that judging by recent agreements between the republics' leaders the Armed Forces will remain unified.

Military Writer Examines Changing Alliance System

PM1009093791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3

[Candidate of Military Sciences P. Vladimirov "Viewpoint": "Without Allies"]

[Text] Five months have passed since the military structures of the Warsaw Pact were dissolved, and the USSR no longer has any allies—at least in Europe. The Soviet Union's departure from the East European arena goes against the established formula in the modern world of states existing in obligatory alliances, especially for reasons of security.

Incidentally, security or—to be more accurate—its material backing is not interpreted uniformly in Europe today. As a rule, any state formation possesses political and economic ties which are characteristic of it alone. Because of this, it is possible to delineate a minimum of three blocs in Europe today which possess various options in the security sphere.

The first bloc covers the West European countries. These are highly organized politically and economically developed states now on the threshold of forming a European confederation. Their overall industrial and military potential is significant and, at the level of security provision, is realized equally and alike for any state in this region which is a NATO member under treaty commitments within the framework of the North Atlantic alliance.

The second bloc is the group of East European states. Its present state is basically one of "casting about" in politics and the economy and searching for effective military cooperation both within and outside the group. The economic and sociopolitical processes going on in these countries as a result of the reforms being carried out lack stability. The populations are taking them badly, and they are accompanied by unstable internal situations. Because of this, acute crisis situations can be expected to develop in some of them, particularly in connection with territorial and ethnic problems. They are distinguished by a low potential for ensuring their own security and are therefore gravitating toward the West in the hope of receiving aid.

In financial terms, however, it is not viable for the West to develop relations with the East European states, bearing in mind the experience of "absorbing" the GDR's potential into the economy of a united Germany and the losses incurred in doing so. Moreover, the West fears that an intensification of its political and economic relations with the region's countries could prove a "bone of contention" in its relations with the USSR and tend to worsen them.

And finally there is the third bloc. This is the Soviet Union, which possesses a powerful arsenal of nuclear and conventional means of waging war but which has put the ability to guarantee its own security in doubt as a result of its serious economic situation and continuing national conflicts. An analysis of the development of the situation in the Soviet Union shows that practically any attempt to use force to resolve internal questions will lead to a worsening in conditions for guaranteeing the state's security using the USSR Armed Forces, which, as it is, are complicated enough. But even in this situation the Soviet Union will remain a real and powerful military power on the European continent which has to be reckoned with.

Such are the realities of security in Europe today. By all accounts, the new leaderships of the East European countries believed that cutting links with the Warsaw Pact military organization would lose their countries nothing in terms of security, since they would automatically become a part of a newly created European system of collective security, or at least NATO. In actual fact, however, everything turned out to be much more complicated. Hungary, the CSFR [Czech and Slovak Federal Republic], Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania have on the one hand become foreign bodies as far as the Soviet Union is concerned and on the other are not alien to the North Atlantic alliance, which itself appears unwilling to grant them full membership in that organization for the very same reason.

What has happened as a result of the collapse of the Warsaw Pact's military structures? What have the members of that alliance gained and what have they lost? The pluses both for the East European countries and for the Soviet Union are that both sides have gained the right to make sensible use of money in resolving internal problems which previously went to maintaining the organization. In addition, the East European countries are rid of the "older brother" diktat which undoubtedly operated in a number of instances as a result of the USSR's special position among its allies and of which they were thoroughly sick.

And what are the minuses? The concept of "alliance members' mutual defense" has been destroyed and its material substance cut away. The East European countries will now find it difficult to rely on assistance from the USSR—a powerful ally possessing an arsenal of nuclear and conventional weapons with which any potential aggressor has to reckon. A well-oiled system of cooperation in the production of military hardware and equipment has been lost. For this reason, deliveries of Czecho-Slovak tank-based tractor units, Polish mobile antiaircraft missile complexes, Bulgarian batteries, and Hungarian electronic equipment are unlikely to continue among the six Warsaw Pact states. The system of training command and engineering personnel for the former friendly armies has been dismantled. The system of equipping the East European countries' armed forces with up-to-date combat hardware has been destroyed, as has much else.

For the Soviet Union, the breakup of the Warsaw Pact military organization also means the loss of many military facilities, including infrastructure which it has constructed on the territory of countries where it had bases, as well as damage to morale due to the hurried withdrawal of Soviet troops to USSR territory. Having lost our positions in East Europe, at this complex period of our history we find ourselves one-on-one with the North Atlantic alliance. Now you cannot help wondering whether the 13,150 tanks which we are allowed to have in the European part of the USSR under the CFE treaty are adequate in comparison with the 20,000 which NATO will possess on the same basis. And where is the guarantee that the 6850 tanks left to our "former" allies as the European countries' quota will not be added to this figure?

Today's events show that it is too early to give such a guarantee. After all, in the East European countries a process of active reorientation toward the West is in train. They have all established diplomatic relations with NATO and are cooperating with the alliance at the expert level, and Hungary has been the first among its peers to acquire associate membership in the North Atlantic assembly.

Seeing NATO right now as the "only bulwark for world security," leaders of East European countries are distancing themselves from their former Warsaw Pact membership and reviewing their military doctrines. The result of this policy, for example in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, has been the formulation of the "equal threat" concept and the redeployment, accordingly, of a proportion of their armed forces from western to eastern regions of those countries. Urgent steps are being taken to set up military districts and commands in the border zone with the "eastern neighbor," together with measures to strengthen the East European countries' borders with the Soviet Union.

A Romanian proposal to form an alliance of five East European former Warsaw Pact states was rejected. At the same time Poland, Hungary, and the CSFR have cut themselves off from their former Warsaw Pact colleagues and formed an international structure—the "Tripartite Alliance"—which is extremely important for them and in essence strengthens their voice in Europe.

And what does the near future hold for us in the area of our own security? It is most likely that our strategic goal for the foreseeable future could be to establish bilateral relationships incorporating the security sphere with the countries with which we share a common border. That is most probably where our immediate security lies. However, we must be circumspect in our approach to choosing cooperation partners and in defining the extent of its military content, assessing not only present realities but also prospects for the future. This process of establishing relationships could subsequently be extended beyond the neighboring states. A wide geography of friendly ties and military contacts will undoubtedly help us to stand above bloc structures, to be free from them, and to have the opportunity to secure our interests through a system of bilateral relationships.

Near East & South Asia

Primakov Continues Tour of Middle East

Meets Mubarak in Cairo

LD1109170891 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Krutikhin]

[Text] Cairo September 11 TASS—It is not accidental that Egypt is the first country visited by personal representative of the Soviet president Yevgeniy Primakov during his trip to the Middle East.

"This is the key Arab country," Primakov told TASS.

Primakov said he is very satisfied with today's meeting with Egyptian President Husni Mubarak. "It is not only that Mubarak estimates correctly the current situation in the Soviet Union. By the way, the president will soon come on a regular working visit to the USSR to see Mikhail Gorbachev, the Russian leadership and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

"Mubarak stressed his wish to do everything in this difficult period for the Soviet Union to mobilize the resources of the Arab World and Egypt to help stabilize the Soviet economic situation," said Primakov.

There are certain limits, as far as Egypt is concerned: They do not have their free currency or such savings as other countries have to offer cash to the Soviet Union, noted the Soviet representative.

At the same time, the two countries could expand mutual trade that was slowed down by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union gave less to Egypt that, [as received] received from it, the Soviet Union's deliveries of coal, paper, timber and other items fell short of the preliminary agreements.

But even in this situation, the Egyptian president thinks that the supply of many goods needed by the Soviet economy, could be unblocked.

We are now heading for other countries, "where similar work will be done," said Primakov. "I mean rather the team that came along with me, then myself," he added.

The team includes Deputy Soviet Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Vladimir Mordvinov, First Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Foreign Economic Bank Tomas Alibegov, First Deputy Soviet Minister of Assembly and Specialized Building Works Valentin Minenkov, chairman of the State Committee for Geology of the Russian Federation Dmitry Fedorov, Deputy Russian Minister of the Economy I. Materov, deputy adviser of the Soviet president Karen Brutents and senior officials of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

"They are all working on their programs, including the search for partners and business negotiations. I think it is very useful," Primakov said.

Comments on Israeli Ties

LD1209090591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Yevgeniy Primakov, now in Cairo as envoy of the Soviet president, has said that the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel depends on the Jewish state's participation in an international conference on the Middle East. Attempts by Israel, Primakov said, to influence the Soviet Union's stand and secure concessions from it on the issue of diplomatic relations were doomed to failure.

Israel has been threatening to boycott the conference after the United States postponed the granting to it of a big credit for four months.

Leaves for Saudi Arabia

LD1209105891 Moscow TASS in English 0845 GMT 12 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Krutikhin]

[Text] Cairo September 12 TASS—Yevgeniy Primakov, personal representative of the Soviet president, flew from Cairo to Saudi Arabia today. During his two-day visit to Egypt he handed a personal message of Mikhail Gorbachev to President Husni Mubarak, met Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Musa and spoke before a large group of Egyptian businessmen.

Representatives of Soviet foreign trade and industrial institutions, who accompany Primakov in his trip, held talks with representatives of Egyptian business circles.

Meets Sa'ud al-Faysal

LD1309092191 Moscow TASS in English 0855 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Text] New York September 13 TASS—The Soviet president's personal envoy President Yevgeniy Primakov [name and title as received] on Thursday arrived in Saudi Arabia, the ASSOCIATED PRESS [AP] news agency reports from Jeddah. On the same day, Primakov met Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal. He was then received by King Fahd to whom he handed over a personal message from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

There have been no official reports on the results of the talks but AP believes that talks focused on boosting the Kingdom's financial aid to the Soviet Union. Saudi Arabia earlier extended credits to the tune of 1.5 billion U.S. dollars to the USSR.

AP lists Afghanistan as another topic on the agenda of Soviet-Saudi talks. On the whole, Saudi Arabia has a favourable attitude towards developments in the Soviet Union, with which it resumed diplomatic relations during the Gulf crisis, AP observes.

Primakov is now touring Middle and Near Eastern countries. He has already held talks in Egypt and following his visit to Saudi Arabia he will head to Kuwait, Iran, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates.

Commentary Views Tour

LD1109062791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] Yevgeniy Primakov, personal envoy of Soviet President Gorbachev, has started a tour of the Middle East and southwest Asian countries. He will visit Egypt, the Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Iran, and Turkey. Our commentary is by Yuriy Solton:

Yevgeniy Primakov is a prominent politician and a leading scientist in Eastern studies whom the Soviet president trusts completely. His shuttle mission to prevent the Gulf War is within our memory. Due to a number of reasons all his attempts failed, though today many believe that the war may be avoided [as heard] and there were other means of forcing Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. Yevgeniy Primakov was doing what he could to mitigate the consequences of the war in the region. It appears that the August developments that have drastically changed the situation in the Soviet Union did not affect traditionally friendly ties between Moscow and the Arab and other countries in the region. The main aim of Yevgeniy Primakov's trip might be to confirm the invariability of this stand. He will also hand President Gorbachev's personal dispatches to the leaders of the Middle East and southwest Asian countries.

The sides are reportedly to discuss economic and political cooperation between the region's countries and the Soviet Union at a new stage in the history of our states. The sides might also focus on the Arab-Israeli conflict, the main source of tensions in the Middle East.

The former principal rivals in the region, the Soviet Union and the United States, have agreed that the first step to a peace settlement might be an international conference. All the contending sides agreed to hold it in October, but still there are many difficulties in the way. One of them is the Israelis' stubborn disinclination to recognize the United Nations Security Council resolutions. The United States secretary of state, James Baker, has made yet another attempt to overcome obstacles in the way of the conference. At the end of the week he intends to leave for Israel and neighbouring countries. Yevgeniy Primakov is also expected to discuss these problems during talks with the leaders of states he will visit.

It's encouraging that after a short while, Moscow has again stepped up its political activity in all directions. Yevgeniy Primakov's trip is further proof of this.

Government Said To Advocate Arab 'Concessions'

PM1209090191 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 10 Sep 91 pp1, 4

[Qamran Qurrah Daghi report: "Priorities Do Not Include the Middle East, and Arabs Should 'Back Down and Make Concessions'"]

[Excerpts] Moscow— As President Mikhail Gorbachev's Special Envoy Yevgeniy Primakov proceeds today, Tuesday, to the Middle East on a tour of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, and Iran in pursuit of economic aid, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker begins talks in Moscow on topics including the peace conference. An informed Soviet source has told AL-HAYAH that, in connection with the peace conference, his country "will push the Arabs toward backing down and making concessions."

The source said there was great confusion in official and academic circles because of the ambiguity of Soviet diplomatic action and its future, particularly that of the Middle East department. [passage omitted]

The informed Soviet source told AL-HAYAH that Baker would most probably tell Moscow that Washington insists that the Soviets "attend the peace conference, whatever form it takes." He said that the Americans want the conference to be held because they believe that the time is right, "before fundamentalism of various types escalates in the region."

He expressed the view that the conference would indeed be held next month "but will produce no results, although it may lead to some improvement in Arab-Israeli relations."

He confirmed that the Soviet Foreign Ministry was in favor of an early restoration of relations with Israel but that this matter "is no longer a problem for Tel Aviv, which is reinforcing its ties with the republics following the collapse of the center."

The informed source said he believed that Washington supported the Israeli view that the solution to the Palestinian problem should be based on the premise that it is "a problem of people, not of territory" and that the

Israelis were willing to concede cultural, administrative, and other rights "but no territory." [passage omitted]

He said that, while realizing that the position of the Arabs "is very difficult," Moscow is in no position to help them, and the best advice that could be given by "those who sympathize with the Arab cause" in Moscow, whose position is no less difficult, is that the Arabs should proceed to the peace conference with "minimum demands." He added that "perhaps the maximum possible success they could achieve is not to commit themselves in any agreements at this stage." He expressed the opinion that Syria might go long with the United States "within certain limits" because it is interested in improving its relations with the United States.

His advice was that "the Arabs should back down, make concessions, and demonstrate willingness for peace" to influence the U.S. position. He added: "This is all regrettable, but it is the reality of the world situation and there is nothing else we can do." He emphasized that that reality meant that "the center and Russia will push the Arabs toward making concessions." He pointed out that this "was in complete harmony with Eduard Shevardnadze's foreign policy line." [passage omitted]

PRAVDA Urges Avoiding Mideast Peace Parley

PM1109143191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3

[Yuriy Glukhov "Viewpoint": "A Purely Ceremonial Role?"]

[Text] Perhaps it is not a pleasant admission to make but we risk being left on the sidelines when it comes to removing the debris of the Arab-Israeli conflict. And when this week U.S. Secretary of States J. Baker sets off from Moscow via the Baltic for the Near East once more, there will be nothing left for us to do but wave him goodbye. It is no secret that the Soviet Union is already being dismissed from Near East politics. Not without reason.

This is due by no means least to us ourselves. The disintegration of the USSR inevitably involves a decline in the Union's role in world affairs, including in that region. Furthermore, with the appearance of sovereign republics inside or outside the Union there may also be different approaches to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Israel, for example, is already gravely concerned at the future position of those Soviet republics with a Muslim population.

The probability of becoming superfluous is not new. In recent years the USSR's influence in the Arab east has weakened while the activeness of the United States has increased sharply. Even during the flowering of perestroyka,, our diplomacy did not lavish special attention on that region. E. Shevardnadze and A. Bessmertnykh went there just once each whereas J. Baker will be making his seventh trip. The content of our economic cooperation has diminished and is more connected with the impressive past—Aswan, Hulwan, and the Euphrates. Yet the United States this year, for example, is releasing more than $2 billion to Egypt in the form of aid. Guided by moral and ethical considerations, we are curtailing our military supplies to the Near East whereas the United States is increasing them. In the current fiscal year it is going to sell weapons worth $16 billion. Finally, Washington, having given protection to Kuwait which was smothered in the fraternal embraces of Iraq, has tried to present itself as the knight Sir Lancelot.

We should not try to bury our head in the sand and fail to see the critical arrows shot at us from the Arab countries. Libyan leader al-Qadhdhafi has recently loosed a succession of them. The present inactivity of the Soviet Union, he said, has meant that the peoples of the world have been left face to face with U.S. imperialism and now the United States and Israel are trying to split the Arab world. The USSR supported the UN Security Council's decision on the beginning of military actions against Iraq. Even when Baghdad complied with all the Security Council's conditions the Soviet Union, with the right of veto, did not intervene to demand that the destruction of Iraq cease. And this despite the treaty on friendship and cooperation existing between the two countries. The USSR, al-Qadhdhafi states, is not hindering the departure of Soviet Jews for the Israeli-occupied Palestinian lands, it has repudiated communist parties, the national liberation movement, and progressive states, and abandoned them in the middle of their development.

I cite these comments merely for information, as an indication of certain moods. You can think what you like about al-Qadhdhafi himself as an individual but he does reflect the state of mind of a section of the Arab world and a quite considerable section, too. For example, how does the quite logical, necessary, and already belated process of the complete normalization of relations with Israel appear in Arabs' eyes? To a large extent merely as a further apostasy and decline in the moral authority of the Soviet Union. Nor have we yet acquired that moral authority on the Israeli side. Furthermore, Washington, well known for its one-sided, pro-Israeli orientation, does not have the due reputation of intermediary in the Arabs' eyes either.

Meanwhile, the knot of Near East problems is infinitely entangled. How can territorial questions be resolved if Israel has already announced the annexation of Jerusalem and Syria's Golan Heights and is assimilating the West Bank of the Jordan? Are the Palestinians satisfied with the autonomy offered them, will they agree to bury their hopes of creating their own state? What will become of the millions of Palestinian refugees? What future awaits Jerusalem and the Muslim shrines there, which particularly worries Saudi Arabia and the entire Islamic world?

Hopes of a settlement are pinned on a peace conference co-sponsored by the United States and the USSR. During the conference, as far as can be judged, United

States is prepared to resort to arm-twisting to compensate for its lack of authority as an intermediary. It has the potential to do that. It is hard to say whether justice will triumph, but the weakest will inevitably suffer. What role is assigned to the USSR in this process? That of a purely ceremonial figure at the forthcoming conference? Do we need the laurels of such peacemakers? Is it not better to announce in advance that we refuse to take part in these games and begin again—with the establishment and development of bilateral relations with the region's countries?

Spokesman Denies Rumors About Delegation in Kabul

OW1209110991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0030 GMT 12 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] was told at the USSR Foreign Ministry, the Soviet delegation now in Kabul is not authorized to conduct negotiations on continuing economic and military aid to Afghanistan. The only purpose of its arrival there is to meet the Soviet citizen Allayarov whom the Mujaheddin had released with the help of the Afghan Government.

The rumours concerning the powers of the Soviet delegation were obviously inspired, said a spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry. In his view they might pose a kind of "ballon d'essai." [trial ballon] It's not ruled out that they reflect wishful thinking on the part of some Afghan leaders interested in further Soviet supplies who are trying to probe Soviet public opinion.

On the other hand, the spokesman said, these rumours might have been spread by the mojahedin and by those Western circles which support them. At a time when Moscow is hosting the Conference on Human Dimension in the framework of the CSCE they are extremely interested in presenting the Soviet Union and its relationship with Afghanistan in an unseemly light.

As for the Soviet economic and military aid to Kabul as such, it continues for the time being, the spokesman pointed out. The relevant agreements have not expired yet.

Kozyrev Praises Declaration on Afghanistan

OW1309153591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1437 GMT 13 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As from 1st January, 1992 the Soviet Union and the United States will stop supplying arms to the warring parties in Afghanistan and they have undertaken not to increase supplies until then. The news as given on Friday 13th September in Moscow in a joint Soviet-American statement on Afghanistan by Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. The statement also expresses the hope that the remaining Soviet prisoners of war will be released before the end of the year.

The Soviet special ambassador, Nikolay Kozyrev, called the statement "a break-through in policy towards Afghanistan". In a conversation vith a "DP" correspondent he said that the most important feature of the statement was the firm intention to seek a political settlement, dialogue between the Afghan factions and in the long-run the cessation of hostilities.

Mr. Kozyrev said that the Soviet-American declaration was a logical development of and an attempt to bring to fruition the principles identified by the Secretary General of the United Nations in his statement on Afghanistan of 21st May, 1991. He expressed the hope that other nations, particularly the arms suppliers, would follow in the footsteps of the USSR and the United States, signatories of the Geneva Convention, and work on a practical level for a resolution to the Afghan problem. The next step forward is, according to Kozyrev, the establishment of a series of bilateral contacts, in particular between the USSR and Iran, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia and also with the Afghan opposition. He is hopeful that in the near future the United Nations will organise an international conference on Afghanistan in which the aforementioned countries and the warring Afghan factions will participate.

Mr. Kozyrev said that the USSR considers the release of Soviet prisoners of war to be one of the most important conditions for the normalisation of the Afghan situation and stressed that the Soviet Union was ready to take all necessary steps for the realisation of this aim. "We will put this case very firmly", he said. "The mujahidin must meet us half way and at the very least initially inform us of the names of those held prisoner and allow them to come to an independent decision about their future", he stressed.

Najibollah Welcomes Joint Statement

LD1309121191 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 13 TASS—Afghan President Najibollah has met the Soviet-American statement on Afghanistan with approval and open satisfaction.

He asked to convey to the Soviet leadership his gratitude for the extremely important step, which may bring closer a real Afghan settlement, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told TASS, responding to a question about the first reaction of the Afghan leaders to the Soviet-American statement on Afghanistan. It has just been signed by Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Moscow.

President Najibollah plans to speak on national radio and television today and express satisfaction and gratitude on behalf of the Afghan people to the Soviet Union and the United States, guarantors of the Geneva Accords.

Details on Tajik-Afghan Border Incidents

PM1009081591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Sep 91 First Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent S. Ergashev report: "Not All Quiet on the Border"]

[Text] Dushanbe—The armed Afghan opposition has carried out one more sally on the USSR's southern border: After negotiating the Pyandzh River, which forms the border along the Tajik-Afghan section of the frontier, some mujahidin laid a mine which last Saturday blew up an armored personnel carrier with Soviet border guards. Fortunately there were no casualties. The crew received contusions of medium severity. All three are now receiving hospital treatment, and military physicians maintain that their lives are out of danger.

Lieutenant Colonel I. Kharkovchuk, deputy chief of an operational group of the Central Asian Border District, spoke about the results of the preliminary investigation at the TASS correspondent's request.

"Each year, several of the rayon's farms procure coarse feed on the Karaulteppa Peninsula, which is in Pyandzhskiy Rayon. The peninsula is situated beyond our line of technical engineering structures, and border details, to which an armored personnel carrier is attached, are used to guard the peasants while procuring grasses.

"It had been ascertained the previous day, Friday, that there were no signs of mining on the road that was taken by agricultural transport and the border guards' combat vehicles. We assume that the mining was carried out Friday night. An investigation has shown that it was an Italian-made antitransport mine. Sappers have come and inspected all the main roads. There were no other signs of mining.

"I will point out that this instance of mining in this section of the southern border is the first since the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. However, there has recently been an increase in the frequency of border violations. Thus, a stop was put to an attempt by an armed group of Afghan residents, who violated the USSR state border in Pyandzhskiy Rayon, to seize a small herd of cows and ferry it to Afghanistan. One of the violators was killed in the ensuing exchange of fire, while the rest abandoned the herd and hurriedly returned to Afghanistan. The border guards found six live grenades at the scene. In the middle of August another group of mujahidin captured a herdsman. However, at the demand of the border guards, he was returned to the motherland the next day."

East Europe

Pankin Says Honecker Destiny 'Not Yet' Decided

LD1209171191 Moscow TASS in English 1659 GMT 12 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich, Sergey Postanogov, Leonid Timofeyev]

[Excerpt] Moscow September 12 TASS—The destiny of the former GDR leader, 79 year-old Erich Honecker "has not yet been decided", Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin told a news conference here today.

He refuted reports in the press about Honecker's possible departure from the USSR where he is staying at present. China was mentioned as one of the countries for which Honecker may leave.

As is known, the FRG authorities demand from the USSR the extradition of Erich Honecker to put him on trial. Pankin said that the destiny of the former leader of the GDR was discussed during his negotiations with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in the framework of the Moscow session of the CSCE conference on the human dimension. [passage omitted]

CSFR Interest in Joint Cooperation 'Growing'

PM1209090591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

[L. Kornilov report: "Prague: Qualitatively New Economic Relations With Moscow Needed"]

[Text] Prague—Czechoslovakia is in no hurry to react to the idea voiced from the platform at the extraordinary USSR Congress of People's Deputies by I. Silayev that former CEMA member countries could join an economic union of Soviet republics. It would seem that the Russian prime minister's brief remarks contain too little information for statesmen.

Nor is there any sign of comment on television or in the press—with the exception, say, of a short interview with Academician S. Shatalin or notes about the "restrained attitude" toward the proposal in Bulgaria. Obviously, things are still not clear for Czechoslovak journalists either. The headline above a report in one newspaper was indicative: "Another CEMA?" It reflects a failure to understand the crux of the matter, irony, and suspicion.

Nevertheless, there is fertile ground for the "Silayev idea" here, and it could be said that in recent days something similar has been maturing of its own accord. At any rate, economic eyes are no longer turned solely toward the West. I will cite just two arguments in this context—the "practical" and the "theoretical," so to speak.

A few days ago I visited the "Kavalir" Glass Plant in the small city of Sazava, 50 km from Prague. The plant produces heat-resistant and unbreakable glass. Goods from its range are well known in our country—glass teapots, cups, saucepans, various babies' bottles with teats (this year a contract was concluded for 1 million of these), pharmaceutical vessels, and laboratory and industrial equipment.

"No," Director General M. Nespor declared, "we are not losing interest in the Soviet Union—on the contrary. The former links still operate. We value our long-standing knowledge of our partners, people, and their language and mentality. We are in the center of Europe and we simply cannot work in one direction alone—we view ourselves more as a 'bridge.' We revere all the West's positive traits, but we know the harsh—even cruel—rules governing the business world there. But you know, during the transitional period a sympathetic conditions are vital—for us and for you.

"Naturally, in the new conditions we will work differently. Previously, the Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] used to take all our output at source via foreign trade associations and then distribute it so that we did not even know all the addressees. Now we want to cooperate with the enterprises and republics themselves. Therefore we need direct addresses for cooperation and barter proposals. I am convinced that everything will be straightened out in our country, and the new level of our links with the Soviet Union will be more extensive and efficient than in the era of the Gosplans [State Planning Committees] and Gossnabs."

And here's what P. Janyska, observer for the weekly RESPEKT, which is close to government circles, writes:

"The emergence of independent republics and local markets from the ruins of the Soviet Union presents us with a great summons: It will be possible to ensure our state's security only through good relations with our new neighbors. Today, above all, this means the Ukraine and Russia. Independent republics mean independent markets, and the Russian reform signifies independence for enterprises. Unprecedented commercial possibilities are opening up before us—provided, of course, we do not miss them.

"It is very important that we put down roots in the renewed republics as soon as possible and move into these new markets. The Czechoslovak plan proposing that a portion of Western aid to the Soviet Union be realized via the purchase of our goods for it could also help here. (He is talking about the so-called 'Dienstbier Plan' which got a very cool reaction from the USSR Foreign Ministry a year ago.—L.K.)

"Every day counts. It is clear: Whoever approaches the East with the first rational suggestions will secure his position for years. As one government official said after the collapse of the putsch: 'If I were a businessman, I would break off my vacation immediately and head for the Ukraine, Russia, and Kazakhstan to conclude deals. Every hour is crucial."

Does it matter that all the above is not couched in a rigorous form identical to the "Silayev idea"? The essential thing is this: Interest in economic cooperation with the Soviet Union in the new conditions is growing.

Poland's Balcerowicz Interviewed on Visit

*PM0609133391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3*

[M. Tretyakov report on interview with Polish Vice Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz; place and date of interview not given: "Bitter Medicine from Poland. Will It Suit?—Polish Vice Premier Leszek Balcerowicz Answers Questions from a PRAVDA Correspondent"]

[Text] This man is well known in Poland and even far beyond its borders. Some people curse him, others praise him. Leszek Balcerowicz, Poland's vice prime minister and finance minister, is the author of the plan to transfer from a socialist, planned economy to a capitalist market, which has been labeled "shock therapy" in Poland.

The implementation of this radical idea began for our neighbors across the River Bug in the fall of 1989, and it has to be said that it is progressing with varying degrees of success. While Polish stores are being filled with—mostly imported—goods, the country is regularly shaken by strikes demonstrating opposition to the decline in living standards. A few days ago, M. Krzaklewski, leader of the "Solidarity" Trade Union, was forced to make a special appeal to working people to halt the strikes which he described as ruinous for the country's economy. At the same time, a highly complex situation has emerged in over 100 major Polish enterprises formerly geared to exports for the Soviet Union. The sharp drop in the turnover of goods between Poland and the USSR as a result of both sides' lack of convertible currency for mutual transactions is causing tremendous damage to the two countries' economies.

In this difficult situation a Polish delegation headed by L. Balcerowicz came to Moscow. It held talks with RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] leaders which resulted in the signing of an economic agreement between Russia and Poland as well as a number of bilateral documents.

According to the Polish vice prime minister, the agreements reached in Moscow open the way to the restoration of economic relations between the two partners and will promote an increase in economic cooperation and Polish exports to Russia. Moreover, it is planned above all to realize cooperation at enterprise level, and they will begin to make their own decisions on the best way to conduct trade and which goods and services to offer. Various principles may be used for settling mutual payments—hard currency, barter deals, and clearing.

In response to my question on how far the Polish version of "shock therapy" is suitable for the Soviet economy, L. Balcerowicz said that it is impossible to mechanically transfer one country's experience to another. There are massive differences between the conditions for implementing radical reforms in Poland in 1989 and those which are emerging now in the USSR. The main thing is that the market in your country has not collapsed as it did in our country in that period, L. Balcerowicz said. Second, you are able to carry out privatization quickly and thus get hold of any surplus capital from the population. This is very important in the fight with inflation. For example, through the privatization of available accommodation space. No such opportunity existed in Poland because at the time of implementing our radical reforms the majority of apartments were private.

But I would like to warn you, he continued. As Polish experience shows, the transition from a planned economy to a market economy is very difficult and there is no room for haste here. In particular, it is not worth privatizing state enterprises at one stroke. It is necessary to gradually introduce systemic decisions into their activity so as to allow for a smooth entry into the market economy.

This is L. Balcerowicz's opinion, and it is difficult to disagree with him. The fact is that in the light of the complex situation in the country, the Polish Government has demanded that it be granted emergency powers.

West Europe

Yakovlev Holds Meetings With Leaders in Bonn

Discuss Economic Ties With Kohl

LD1109132591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1138 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Chistyakov]

[Text] Bonn, 11 Sep (TASS)—Aleksandr Yakovlev, special representative of the USSR president met FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn today. During their conversation, which lasted for about an hour and a half, they discussed topical issues on bilateral economic relations as well as, more broadly, prospects for developing relations between the West and the Soviet Union in the new conditions which have come into being since the failure of the attempted coup d'etat.

As Aleksandr Yakovlev said in an interview with a TASS correspondent, his conversation with the head of the German Government took place "in an atmosphere of very goodwill". "I am pleased about our conversation," the special representative of the USSR president noted.

Comments on Commercial Talks

LD1109131891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0600 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Sergey Sosnovskiy and Viktor Chistyakov]

[Text] Bonn, 11 Sep (TASS)—In a conversation with your TASS correspondents, "cautious optimism" is the assessment which Aleksandr Yakovlev, special representative of the USSR president, gave to the results of the meetings he had here with heads of major financial and economic institutions. Yesterday in Frankfurt-am-Main, the financial capital of Germany, he had talks with the heads of Germany's leading banks—the Deutsche Bank and and Dresdner Bank—and also with the president of the Association of German Industry. Today, Aleksandr Yakovlev is to meet German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn.

The aim of the visit, Aleksandr Yakovlev said, is to discuss the most topical and urgent issues of bilateral financial and economic relations and the prospects for resolving these in the context of the new political situation that has come into being in the USSR following the failure of the putsch. Another important topic in the talks is the provision of further German economic and humanitarian support for the policy of reforms, something the USSR has extreme need of now, as a difficult winter approaches.

"All the meetings were good and interesting. I was asked a lot of questions and for my part I also asked questions," Aleksandr Yakovlev said. The USSR president's representative was interested in particular in what is hindering German businessmen in their work in the Soviet Union, in actively penetrating our market, and investing in specific projects. "I received honest answers, although they also upset me," Aleksandr Yakovlev said. His collocutors cited a number of specific examples where even quite recently deals which were to the benefit of our country "were simply undermined by the bureaucratic apparatus of the ministries." The logic was simple—implementation of such deals cast doubt on the purposefulness of the existence of the bureaucratic structures themselves, and they naturally resisted this for the sake of survival.

"The situation has now changed radically, and for the better. One must see in the events that have taken place not so much the disintegration of former structures as the establishment of qualitatively new ones which live by the laws of common sense. I told my collocutors that artificial barriers that have hampered development of trade-economic relations have now been or are being removed. The old administrative bureaucracy apparatus is being dismantled. A new economic union of sovereign republics is arising, founded on the principles of mutual interest in cooperation. I think that at least 14 of the 15 republics will join this union. I think that now, when the forces opposing reforms have suffered defeat and are demoralized, is the very time when western businessmen can step up their activities in a free state of free people. That is what I tried to convince my collocutors of, and I hope that the exchange of views that has taken place will be followed up by actual deeds," Aleksandr Yakovlev emphasized.

Ends Visit; Comments

LD1209184591 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 12 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Chistyakov]

[Text] Bonn September 12 TASS— Yakovlev, special representative of the USSR president, on a brief visit in Germany, left for home this morning.

Yakovlev conducted negotiations with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and with heads of major German banks—Deutsche Bundesbank and Dresdner Bank a.g.. He met with heads of the united German industry and the eastern committee on German economy.

A broad range of topical questions of bilateral cooperation in the financial and economic spheres was discussed in the context of a new situation which arose in the Soviet Union after the failed coup.

Special attention was given to possibilities for rendering further economic and humanitarian aid to the USSR by Germany. Most important problems of relations between the Soviet Union and Western countries were discussed.

Summing up the results of the meeting with Yakovlev, Chancellor Kohl declared, specifically, for the implementation of the international programme of support for reforms in the USSR. Chancellor Kohl also declared for food and humnitarian aid to the Soviet population.

Returns to Moscow

LD1209121791 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 12 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev returned to Moscow today after ending his mission in Germany. He paid a two- day visit to that country as a special representative of the Soviet president.

Yakovlev met Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, with whom he discussed a wide range of problems dealing with bilateral relations. Special emphasis was laid on the normalisation of economic relations.

Yakovlev visited Frankfurt, the financial capital of the country, where he held talks with senior executives of the leading banks, Deutsche Bank and Dresdner Bank, and with the president of the German Industrial Association. They discussed the most topical and acute problems dealing with financial and economic contacts and prospects of their expansion in the setting of a new political situation, that formed in the USSR after the failure of the putsch. Much attention was devoted to the problem of economic and humanitarian support for reforms in this country. Yakovlev assessed their results with "tentative optimism" in an interview, given by him in Germany after the talks.

Shaposhnikov, Genscher Discuss Troop Withdrawal

LD1109131691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1158 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—Questions on any change in the time limit of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany were not examined during the 90-minute conversation today between German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR defense minister. Hans-Dietrich Genscher told the TASS correspondent this immediately after the meeting in Moscow in the USSR Defense Ministry with the new leader of the Soviet military department. "The withdrawal schedule remains the same," Hans-Dietrich Genscher said. He added that the meeting passed "in an exceptionally cordial and constructive atmosphere" and that, although these talks are unofficial, he is "very satisfied with the results of the conversation."

Touching up its content, the German minister said that, among others, questions of consolidating the new system of security which has now evolved in Europe were discussed. "Mutual interest was shown in cutting armed forces and arms and in lowering the level of security," he stated.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher noted that the sides expressed sincere satisfaction at the entire course of the disarmament processes. "We expressed the desire that this process be extended to tactical nuclear weapons, too," the German foreign minister concluded.

French Defense Minister Arrives on Official Visit

LD1109084191 Moscow TASS in English 0824 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Shvets]

[Text] Paris September 11 TASS—French Defence Minister Pierre Joxe begins an official visit to the Soviet Union today to get a clear picture of the Soviet military-political leadership on peace and security in Europe, according to the France Press agency.

Joxe will meet Soviet military and political leaders to discuss preserving tough control over Soviet nuclear weapons, the re-organisation of armed forces and republican and central control over defences.

He will also discuss ways to convert military industries to civilian purposes, arms reductions and the Soviet pull-out from Eastern Europe.

The Soviet position on these issues will have a notable influence on the review of military doctrines going on in NATO and the West European Union in the light of radical changes in Europe.

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1751 GMT on 11 September in a Moscow datelined report adds: "French Minister of Defense Pierre Joxe arrived in Moscow today on an official visit at the invitation of Air Force Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, the USSR minister of defense. Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov and other officials met the guest at the airport. Among those in the welcoming party was Bertrand Dufourcq, French ambassador to the USSR."]

Meets With Shaposhnikov

LD1209100291 Moscow TASS in English 0935 GMT 12 Sep 91

[by TASS correspondents Oleg Moskovskiy and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—"I hope the present talks will give a new impetus to the development of Soviet-French relations in the military field," Soviet Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov said in the run-up to a meeting with his French counterpart Pierre Joxe, who arrived in Moscow on an official visit on Wednesday evening.

During talks, Joxe showed interest primarily in the reform of the Soviet Armed Forces and the state of their combat readiness. Shaposhnikov set out his approach to restructuring the Army at a time when the entire state is being renovated. He informed his French colleague in detail about current changes in the Army, pointing out that its reform would be "radical". He assured Joxe that Soviet nuclear weapons, including tactical, are under reliable control.

The sides concurred that Soviet-French military cooperation should help enhance the security of the USSR and France as well as the entire European continent.

Following the completion of talks, the USSR Defence Ministry and the Defence Ministry of the French Republic signed an agreement on mutual contacts in 1992-93. The agreement envisages an extensive exchange of official delegations, visits of ships and cadets of military schools.

Following talks in the military establishment, the two countries' defence ministers headed to the Kremlin for a meeting with President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Proposes Nuclear Talks Plan

AU1309074791 Paris AFP in English 0143 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sept 13 (AFP) — A French proposal to convene talks between the four powers with nuclear weapons deployed in Europe—Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the United States—was "very interesting," Soviet Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov said here Thursday [12 September].

Marshal Shaposhnikov's statement, made at a dinner in honour of his visiting French counterpart Pierre Joxe, was the first official reaction here to the French proposal, which was floated at a Paris press conference by President Francois Mitterrand on Wednesday.

The Soviet minister said his government would "study attentively" the French proposal.

An authoritative source said that talks between Marshal Shaposhnikov and Joxe had centred on European security and the future of the Soviet Union's nuclear arms.

The French minister also met Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev earlier in the day.

Discusses Ties With Gorbachev

LD1209145691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev received French Defense Minister Pierre Joxe today. They had a warm conversation about further deepening cooperation between the two countries, which is longstanding and substantial.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the contacts that have become a matter of course between representatives of the armed forces of France and the USSR. They also touched problems related to continuing the arms reduction process in Europe.

Taking part in the conversation were Bertrand Dufourcq, French ambassador to the USSR; USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, and Vadim Zagladin, adviser to the USSR president.

Confers With Bakatin

LD1209150491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] French Defense Minister Pierre Joxe says there is an opportunity for cooperation between the French and the USSR's special services. He spoke to a group of journalists in Moscow after meeting Bakatin, head of the USSR State Security Committee. Bakatin said that a proportion of the KGB staff will be cut. However, professional people have nothing to fear, he said. Those who are impervious to restructuring will be forced to leave. Answering the question of how many staff the KGB has, Bakatin referred to the figure of 240,000 cited by a French journalist. If it includes the border troops, he said, then it is too large. On the other hand, if this figure excludes the border guards, then it is too small.

Defense Cooperation Accord Signed

AU1209140791 Paris AFP in English 1335 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sept 12 (AFP)—Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov and his French counterpart Pierre Joxe signed a defense cooperation agreement here Thursday to encourage exchanges between their two armies. It followed talks between the two officials here that dealt with the reform of the Soviet Army, central control over Soviet nuclear weapons, and the prospect of short-range missile reductions, an authoritative source said.

Joxe was also due to meet with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

French President Francois Mitterrand on Wednesday proposed that the four nuclear superpowers—the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France—convene a special conference shortly to discuss limiting tactical weapons, the source said.

Beregovoy Talks in Moscow With Committee, Yeltsin

PM0909135091 Paris LE MONDE in French 8-9 Sep 91 p 4

[Report by Erik Izraelewicz: "Mr. Beregovoy Seeks Information on Union's Economic Future"]

[Text] Moscow—Decided in London in July at the meeting which the heads of state and of government of the seven industrialized countries had with Mikhail Gorbachev, [Economy Minister] Pierre Beregovoy's visit to Moscow on Friday 6 and Saturday 7 September comes at a time when the new economic situation is still very confused. In addition to the fact-finding mission which was the purpose of his visit, the minister of state took the opportunity to try to eradicate the unfortunate impression made by Paris during the 19 August putsch.

During the talks which he had in Moscow on Friday with Mr. Gorbachev—"who seemed to be in good spirits"—and with the main members of the committee for the management of the economy—Volskiy, Yavlinskiy, and Luzhkov—the minister was informed that an initial draft of the treaty on economic union had been submitted to the new State Council that morning. This draft, drawn up by Mr. Yavlinskiy, is apparently largely inspired by the way in which the EC is organized. The choice between a single currency or a currency in each republic with coordinated monetary policies, has not yet been decided. The positions held by the different republics still seem fairly far apart.

Possible Division of the Foreign Debt

The same is true of the foreign debt question and a possible division of this debt among the different republics. Some people are suggesting that each republic should take responsibility for part of this overall foreign debt, currently estimated to be $70 billion. The division would be made taking account of the weight of each republic in terms of population, national wealth, and gross national product. The Russian Republic has apparently already stated its readiness to take responsibility for around $30 billion.

In the political sphere, Mr. Gorbachev told Mr. Beregovoy that the Baltic countries should become associate members of the new confederation. The French minister also took advantage of this visit to Moscow to "express to the Union and Republic authorities France's complete solidarity." Expressing the hope that food and medical aid will rapidly be granted to the Union, he once again mentioned the proposal of a Marshall Plan. "We must abandon academic discussions and take action," he stated in particular, calling on the Americans to accept full IMF and World Bank membership for the USSR and the Baltic countries.

Although Mr. Gorbachev—who accepted Mr. Mitterrand's invitation to Paris—treated Mr. Beregovoy well, Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin wanted to express to the French president's envoy his dissatisfaction with Paris' behavior. Mr. Yeltsin, who had no hesitation in meeting with Jacques Chirac last week, left his meeting with the French minister in doubt until the last minute. He eventually received him late on Saturday morning.

The Russian Federation president was not pleased with his welcome in Strasbourg and Paris in the spring or with the Elysee incumbent's behavior during the putsch. Mr. Beregovoy's scheduled visit to Kiev in the Ukraine on Saturday and Sunday would not have improved matters.

Briefs Media on Visit

PM1109141791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Union Edition p 4

[A. Portanskiy report: "'Marshall Plan' Essential for USSR, According to Beregovoy"]

[Text] "This morning I visited the cemetery to pay homage to the three victims, the three young people, who died during the recent putsch," Pierre Beregovoy, French minister of state for economy, finance, and the budget, told journalists during a short press conference at the end of his visit to Moscow.

The visit was planned at the recent G-7 conference in London, where, as is well known, it was decided that those countries' finance ministers would subsequently visit the Soviet Union to elaborate proposals on the nature of aid for our country. Since the August events in the USSR connected with the attempted coup d'etat, Beregovoy's trip has, in his own words, taken place in a completely new context. Freedom has triumphed in Moscow, and this means that the principles of freedom have also taken the upper hand in the economy. The Union intends to find new structures and state institutions, which, incidentally, have not yet been clarified.

The French minister was received by Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin and met with a number of senior functionaries in our country's leadership. I appreciated after these conversations, Beregovoy stressed, that there is a will for economic cooperation inside the Union. Here every participant will be able to determine himself the degree of his future cooperation: full membership, associate membership, or cooperation at the interstate level.

There is no need to disguise the fact, Beregovoy went on, that the economic situation in the Soviet Union is fairly difficult. There are substantial needs for foodstuffs and medicines. And the international community, the EC, and France will have to respond to these needs urgently. As far as France is concerned, it will petition in the European Community for aid to the Soviet Union in the shape of food and medicine and will itself provide such aid.

The unsuccessful coup in the Union irrevocably marked the downfall of the former collectivist system in the USSR. It is now a question of building a true market economy in the country, which should no longer run up against any political obstacles.

"I was struck by the changed way of speaking of my interlocutors in the USSR," the French visitor remarked with evident satisfaction, "I no longer heard the cliched, vague phrases of the past. Everything was clear and open. We talked about investments, monetary stability, and profit, using the same words and expressing similar intentions."

Beregovoy confirmed the idea he had earlier expressed that international structures, particularly the IMF, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD], the G-7 countries, and the European Community, will have a very important role to play in organizing support for Soviet reforms. Before his trip to Moscow the French minister had proposed a "Marshall Plan"-type aid program for the Soviet Union. Your correspondent asked Beregovoy whether he had made any modifications to this idea since the meetings in Moscow.

"My conviction has merely strengthened that a well defined 'Marshall Plan' mechanism is essential. It is essential to have supplies of equipment which will make it possible to create production capacities in the republics and at the center to enable the Soviet Union to participate in international exchange. Together with our partners in the 'Twelve,' along with the EBRD, and in a broader framework, we will consider the form in which this could be implemented. The Soviet Union will need a convertible monetary unit. Both Gorbachev and Yeltsin have announced their intention to put maximum effort into achieving ruble convertibility. And this requires in-depth enhancement of the Soviet economy. And we be talking precisely about this at the next meetings of G-7 representatives."

What entities will Western countries cooperating with us have to deal with? This question was naturally broached at the French minister's talks in Moscow. Speaking on this topic, Beregovoy made it more often plain to journalists that it is simpler for the West to deal with a single center. At the same time in the future agreements could clearly be signed both with the Union and the republics. That was the wish of Russian President Yeltsin, Beregovoy said, and this issue will be examined.

Shaposhnikov Has 'Frank' Talk With UK Ambassador

PM1009145391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Sep 91 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at the Ministry of Defense"]

[Text] Marshal of Aviation Ye. I. Shaposhnikov received British Ambassador to the USSR R. Braithwaite at the USSR Ministry of Defense at his own request 6 September. There was a frank and friendly conversation in the course of which questions of mutual interest were discussed.

Soviet Diplomat Expelled From Stockholm Embassy

LD1209165291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1613 GMT 12 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Gorokhov]

[Text] Stockholm, 12 Sep (TASS)—The Swedish Government announced that the further stay in the country of an employee of the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm is undesirable. The diplomat's name has not been disclosed. According to the Swedish news agency (TT), he has already left Sweden. The decision was based on a report by the State Police Directorate's Department of Security, which accused the embassy employee of activities incompatible with his official status.

Sweden's 'Caution' in Recognizing Baltics Noted

PM1109120591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent M. Zubko: "Recognition and the Gold Problem"]

[Text] Stockholm—The national flags of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania are flying outside the Swedish Foreign Ministry building on Gustav Adolf Square in central Stockholm. It was there that the ceremony of the official signing of the document on the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Sweden and the Baltic countries took place.

The three republics' foreign ministers came to Stockholm to attend the ceremony after visiting Germany. Sweden's recognition of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia as independent states has given the Swedes an enormous sense of satisfaction, indeed the fight for recognition there was a long and hard one.

"It is the happiest and most positive decision the government has ever made," Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson said.

The Swedish papers are currently saying that in recent days Western countries have all but been vying to be first to recognize the Baltic republics. But Sweden did not participate in the race, according to Foreign Minister S. Andersson, since its authorities considered it necessary to make proper preparations for the time when diplomatic relations would be reestablished.

Stockholm's caution is no accident. The point is that Sweden was one of the few countries that recognized Latvia's, Estonia's, and Lithuania's entry into the USSR in 1940. But the matter was not confined to recognition.

After the end of World War II, the Stockholm papers now point out, the Swedish authorites deported to the Soviet Union many Balts who had fled to Sweden. The Swedes also handed over to the USSR gold that the Estonian government had deposited with Sweden in 1939.

The papers claim that following the conclusion of the nonaggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union, with its secret appendices on the division of spheres of interests, the Baltic countries transferred their gold reserves to Swedish, British, Swiss, and French central banks. The Swedish "share" was four tonnes. Now the Estonian authorities have raised the question of the return of the gold.

How is this matter being tackled? There is no official information as yet. But if you believe the press, the Swedish side intends to pay the value of the gold in hard currency. Obviously, this and some other questions were discussed before the ceremony in Stockholm.

Finland To Buy Soviet Military Hardware

LD1109001991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2105 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Finland has decided to purchase combat and military hardware valued at 260 million rubles from the Soviet Union. The deal will be carried out on a goods for goods basis.

Baltic Fleet on Official Visit to Amsterdam

PM0909142191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 6 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Reporter] Amsterdam—a city of museums and muses, of Rembrandt and Van Gogh. A breath of ceremonial has appeared in its everyday easygoing pace of life.

[Admiral Yegorov] Comrade Acting Soviet Ambassador! A detachment of Baltic Fleet vessels comprising the escort ship Neukrotimyy and large assault landing ship 47 has arrived in the port of Amsterdam on an official visit. Detachment commander Vice Admiral Yegorov [as heard].

[Acting ambassador] Welcome. [Addressing sailors] Hello, comrades! [After sailors' response] At ease.

[Reporter] The first contacts consisted of an exchange of news and work on the visit program. The Netherlands press sees this as something more than just mutual hospitality and good manners. Since the time of Peter the Great, Russian and Dutch naval vocabulary has shared many concepts. And so, the people of Amsterdam are today wishing us "seven feet under the keel."

Silayev, EC's Van den Broek Discuss Cooperation

LD1109130691 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—Ivan Silayev, the head of the Soviet Committee for the Management of the National Economy and the chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, today met Hans van den Broek, the foreign minister of the Netherlands and the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities.

The sides discussed aspects of cooperation of the Soviet Union and Russia with countries of the European Economic Community.

Silayev informed Hans van den Broek in detail on activities of the Soviet Committee for the Economic Management, prospects for the conclusion of an economic agreement and the creation of an inter-republican economic committee.

On behalf of the European Communities, Hans van den Broek expressed the support for the course of the Soviet and Russian leaderships towards the development of democracy and the fulfilment of crucial economic reforms.

EC's Andrissen, Silayev Discuss Food Program

OW1009125291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1100 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Committee for the Management of the Economy and of the Russian Council of Ministers, today received Frans Andrissen, personal representative of the Chairman of the Commission of the European Communities and his deputy for internal affairs, who had arrived in Moscow on a special mission. The main subjects discussed today were the food programme, problems of foreign exchange and finance and—at the suggestion of Mr. Andrissen—of technical aid for the Soviet Union and individual republics. Andrissen said that the states of the European Community intended to continue and possibly expand their aid to the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev, Andriessen View EC Aid

LD1109201991 Moscow TASS in English 1949 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Wednesday met EC Commission Vice-President Frans Andriessen to discuss prospects for cooperation between the Soviet Union and the European Community in the new situation, which, as the president said, gives a chance for changing the speed of cooperation with EC.

Gorbachev informed Andriessen about the most urgent problems in the country, where EC assistance will be desirable and about the state bodies to deal with [it].

The president told Andriessen about plans to radicalise economic reforms and create market mechanisms in the country.

Yeltsin Message Read to European Union Forum

LD1209213491 Moscow TASS in English 2025 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Paris September 12 TASS—"The Russian people, who have been paralysed with fear for years, have succeeded in defending their dignity, amd upholding democracy and freedom and displayed committment to the policy of radical reforms," President Boris Yeltsin of Russia emphasised in his message of greetings to participants in the 14th conference of the European Democratic Union (EDU).

The message was read out here today by Galina Starovoitova, the Russian president's personal envoy to the forum.

"The failure of the putsch gave an impulse to profound transformations, primarily in the top state bodies of the Soviet Union, and dismantled a powerful source of internal confrontation—the structure of the party-and-state apparatus—which had for long been hindering reforms.

"At the critical moment, republics became the main guarantors of the maintenance of internal political stability. Their concerted actions kept the country safe from chaos and anarchy when the centre proved demoralised and was inactive," the message points out.

In this connection, Yeltsin believes, the growth of the republican factor in the life of the country is only natural.

"The role of republics grew in foreign policy as well. This fully applies to the Russian Federation. Russia is committed to the Union of Sovereign States and is aware of its special role in moulding it.

"At the same time Russia also intends to further strengthen its state sovereignty, delegating a strictly limited volume of functions to the centre," the Russian president pointed out.

"We are fully resolved to overcome the monstrous legacy of totalitarianism primarily in the souls of people, not only in the economy, the structures of power and other spheres of life. Therefore the development of contacts in humanitarian areas is particularly important to us," Yeltsin stated.

In conclusion he expressed hope that Russia's aspirations are close and understandable to the EDU and Europe.

Yeltsin assured the leaders of European centre-right parties that are members of the EDU that the Russian leadership in its activities intends to be guided by universal human values.

EC Disquiet at Prospect of USSR Breakup Noted

91UF1128A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 91 Single Edition p 4

[Article by correspondent V. Peresada: "Europe Warns: 'Do Not Rewind the Dramatic Film of History'"]

[Text] Brussels, 1 September—**In Brussels, where the headquarters of the directive bodies of the European Community and also NATO are located, the West's response to the events in the USSR can be perceived particularly distinctly. And, observing it, the unanimous certainty which was seen regarding the attempted coup d'etat is being replaced by a guardedness in the approaches to the situation which is unfolding today.**

But first a few words about recent days. Stunned by what has happened in the USSR, the Europarliament, which has an absolutely implacable attitude toward any, even the "pettiest," instance of infringement of democracy and violation of human rights, was in ferment. The Common Market announced economic sanctions toward the USSR, and an EC summit was about to adopt political decisions for the purpose of isolating the putschists.

The rapid development of events in Moscow determined the "timetable" of international solidarity. The West Europeans, together with Soviet people, felt joy and relief that a tragedy was averted.

Now, however, among the feelings which are present in the pronouncements of West European politicians and in press comment the most important is concern. It is caused primarily by the fact that, the newsletter EUROPE, which is close to leading circles of the EC, writes, the Soviet Union is disintegrating at literally a lightning pace, this being fraught not only with the danger of the most acute internal conflicts but with an undermining of the stability on the continent as a whole.

In this connection I have to recall a conversation I had with Belgian Foreign Minister M. Eyskens long before the present events. Expounding in the context of the West's position his viewpoint on the optimum version of the national-state character of the USSR, he said:

"Of course, as regards Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia our position is special for they were manifestly annexed by Stalin. But as for rest, we greatly fear the disintegration of your state, like the 'neo-Balkanization' of Europe generally. We desire the preservation of the Union, transformed and renewed, of course, perhaps even in the form of a confederation. The most dangerous thing would be if there came to be a revision of borders in your country. You would thereby be rewinding the dramatic film of European history."

The newspapers are more open in their expressions. Unless the centrifugal trends are very quickly contained, the Belgian newspaper LE SOIR writes, political chaos and economic collapse because of a possible recarving of borders, infringements of the rights of national minorities, and property claims await the vast country. That is, the newspaper concludes, everything which frequently leads to something worse—civil war.

The "agreements of the three" have somewhat eased the anxiety of West Europeans. But they have not removed it entirely, as they have not removed many questions connected with our country's future. This is why it is planned in mid-September to convene in The Hague a meeting of the heads of state and government of the 12 members of the EC to be specially devoted to the Soviet Union. It is intended here to invite USSR President Gorbachev and Russian President Yeltsin to this meeting. This would be a first in the history of the European Community, which has never conducted its "own" summits with the participation of foreign leaders.

"This is explained by the extraordinary importance of what needs to be discussed," Belgian Prime Minister W. Martens says. "It will be a question of both economic assistance and much else. The main thing, however, is that we want to know what a renewed Soviet Union will be like and, proceeding from this, will determine how to practice relations with it."

EFTA Trade Ministers Affirm Support for Baltics

LD0909175291 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Dodonov]

[Text] Helsinki September 9 TASS—The European Free Trade Association (EFTA) plans to help Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania create a market economy and promote private business, as well as to assist the expansion of mutually advantageous trade with these countries.

This decision was adopted by an unofficial meeting of EFTA foreign trade ministers meeting, which ended here today. It was convened at the invitation of Finnish Foreign Minister Pertti Salolainen. He told a press conference, devoted to the results of the meeting, that its participants had authorised him to study the situation in the foregoing Baltic states and to reach agreement with them on talks with EFTA representatives on concrete forms of such assistance.

The ministers also discussed key problems related to forthcoming talks with the European Community on the formation of a European economic space. They reaffirmed the interest of all EFTA states in the speediest and successful completion of work on the text of the European economic space treaty. Salolainen noted that the signing of such a treaty would be very important for the further development of all-European cooperation and improvement of the international situation on our continent. Despite still existing differences with the European Community on problems of fishing, transit shipments over the Alps and several other questions, the Finnish foreign trade minister, who is now chairman of the European Free Trade Association, expressed the conviction that it was possible to overcome these difficulties and sign the treaty in proper time.

The meeting participants also went on record for the completion of the regular round of GATT talks this year. "We were unanimous that these negotiations should be aimed at establishing a world economic system that would contribute to the expansion of international cooperation and assistance to developing nations, as well as to central and east European states," Salolaimen said.

Congress of People's Deputies

Gorbachev's Prestige Boosted During Congress

PM0609134391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Parliamentary Correspondents A. Stepovoy and S. Chugayev report: "New Union May be Only Voluntary"]

[Text] For 2 days around 2,000 people's deputies of the former USSR have been racking their brains to find ways to remove the debris of the collapsed barracks in which we lived, albeit badly, but at least together. It can no longer be rebuilt together and, by all accounts, there is hardly anyone left who wants to. But the forces, means, and skills required to build independently of one another—each home according to an individual design—are lacking. Thus the Congress is trying to resolve this most difficult task. There is no shortage of blueprints or drafts. Almost every speaker who took the floor during those 2 days offered his plan for organizing the once common home. Many of them were fine and attractive. There was just one bad feature in them: the failure of the concept to match the current "estimate."

After the first 2 days of the Congress' work, the largely hypothetical conclusion made on the first day seems obvious: M. Gorbachev is not only firmly controlling the situation in the country again but also significantly improved his political rating at home. Evidence of that is provided first and foremost by the debates, which effectively expressed full support for the Statement of the USSR president and the leaders of the republics.

The USSR president's prestige increased most noticeably during the condensed but precise speech by which he rounded off the discussion of the statement. M. Gorbachev firmly and confidently confirmed all the basic positions set out in this document—the need for the earliest conclusion of a treaty on the union of sovereign states and an economic agreement, the creation of an interrepublic mechanism for the management of the economic reform process, a collective security system, and the implementation of military reform within the single armed forces. Thus it is a question of the desire in the present complex conditions to preserve the political, economic, defense, scientific, and spiritual space, the USSR president stressed. M. Gorbachev rebutted very resolutely and, more importantly, conclusively the charges that some points of the statement are at variance with the country's existing Constitution.

He confirmed that the statement's aim is the formation of a truly voluntary Union which the republics will be able to join on federal, confederal, or associate principles—the formula of the "union of sovereign states" enables all that to be taken into account.

Only on one point did the president make a minor compromise. This was the question of the fate of the Union parliament. M. Gorbachev let it be known that he and the coauthors of the statement will not object if the role of the supreme legislative organ of the country in the transitional period is played not by the Soviet of Representatives, as the statement proposes, but by the USSR Supreme Soviet. But one formed according to the Novo-Ogarevo model. That is, one consisting of two chambers, an upper and a lower house—the Soviet of the Republics and the Soviet of the Union. As stressed, furthermore, in addition to representatives of the republics the upper chamber is to envisage quotas for the autonomous formations.

The latter remark was most apposite, by the way, because the evening session began with the proclamation of a series of statements relating to the role of the autonomous formations in the future process of state reorganization. For this reason there had been constant tension both in the parliament and at the Congress and it seems that it has been lifted.

In other speeches at this session the confidence that the implementation of the proposals of the statement's authors will unfailingly deliver the country from collapse and chaos was sometimes expressed so categorically that the impression was occasionally created that the spirit of boundless optimism, long since forgotten within these walls, is returning to the Palace of Congresses. Particularly characteristic in this respect was the speech by I. Silayev, premier of the Union "provisional government." He not only stated on behalf of the committee headed by him that they are capable of ensuring the leadership of the country and that virtually full unanimity is observed among all 15 republics in the solution of economic problems. For that reason, apparently, and on the basis of his conversations with Polish Prime Minister Balcerowicz, I. Silayev put forward a proposal which today, to be honest, seems fantastic, namely that the economic community that is being created on the debris of the empire may be joined by Bulgaria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, thereby forming a new geopolitical space stretching from Balkans to the Pacific.

Seemingly more realistic is the warning not to hope that the rapid conclusion of the Union treaty and the economic agreement will immediately resolve all problems. This warning was given in the speech by Deputy V. Goncharov representing the Donbass. In his opinion, the statement is still not a sign of agreement between the republics but merely a compromise. V. Goncharov expressed doubt that the position of the leaders of the republics matches the mood of their peoples. He believes, in particular, that the form of the Ukraine's participation in the new Union should be determined by a republic referendum, not by decision of parliament. Thus it may be presumed likely that the leaders of the republics who signed the statement will meet with difficulties at home when it comes to fulfilling its provisions. They include political and national problems. Furthermore, it would be naive to suppose that support by the Congress of People's Deputies for the statement is anything other than the beginning of the most complex process of forming a new state. Such processes are never easy or painless.

Sobchak on Congress Role, New Union

914B0407A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 36, 7 Sep 91 p 1

[Statement by A. Sobchak, USSR people's deputy and mayor of City of Leningrad: "Continuity of Power"]

[Text] If we try to formulate the main goal and chief task that the Extraordinary Fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies has to resolve, we may define it thus: ensuring continuity of power during the transitional period from a state system that has in fact collapsed to a new state system.

As a lawyer I say this: The proposals to change the structure of state power that were heard in the statement by the USSR president and the top leaders of the Union republics, and in the Congress resolutions, are absolutely correct. Any attempt to regard them as a violation of constitutional standards or elements of just another coup is groundless.

The Congress is the highest legislative body. It can also alter any constitutional standards. So there is no violation of legality here. There is something else: The desire to control and direct real processes. Today, after proclaiming independence, the majority of the republics have ceased to recognize the force of the USSR Constitution and of Union laws on their own territory. This is the reality, and it is with this that we must deal. If we want to prevent an uncontrolled process of disintegration of the republics, which has already started, and prevent serious conflicts, we must be concerned about the creation and effective functioning of an all- Union structure of power. In the very dangerous period before the signing of the Union treaty, before the adoption of a new Constitution, and before new elections are held, we must have interim all-Union organs of power to which the Congress gives legitimacy and legal foundation.

There is no need to dramatize the situation: They are saying that the country will collapse, that the state will disintegrate. It is the empire that is collapsing, and the foundations of a new democratic Union that are being laid. I am convinced that the republics and peoples now in euphoria over the recognition of their own independence will quickly understand that we cannot feed ourselves alone, that we cannot defend ourselves, and will start to define their real mutual relations with their neighbors. Natural and objective processes of integration will begin. Economic integration, because for decades the economy has been developed in a single economic space, and we will not succeed in destroying all links in one day without sustaining colossal losses. Integration of cultures. We will very quickly realize that we have a common history and common spiritual traditions.

The Union will be regenerated, but on new foundations. How do I see this? In my opinion it should be a very mobile and flexible structure. It may also contain elements of confederation, and elements of associate membership, and even elements concerning the conclusion of separate agreements, for example, only on economic questions or questions relating to defense. The republics themselves will determine their own degree of participation in this Union. They will decide whether they will remain absolutely independent but weak, remote states that no one considers, or whether they will live in a great Union of states that must be considered.

And there is one more factor that I think it is important to remember today. I am convinced that it is not nations nor the degree of uniformity that cement the foundation of a state; the foundation of a state is local self-government. If we create these effective organs of local self-government we will be raising up a reliable foundation for a mighty country. I will, therefore, not exaggerate the significance of the Congress and the documents that it adopts. As in the events of 19-21 August, it is the people who will have the last word.

Deputies Polled on Future Roll for Sobchak

LD0609102791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] The RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reports that according to a poll carried out by the Institute of Sociology and Parliamentarism, over 80 percent of USSR people's deputies support the proposals made by the USSR president and the supreme leaders of the republics for the establishment of a union of sovereign states and an interim interrepublican economic committee. There is less support—65 percent—among parliamentarians for the idea of establishing a state council.

In the same poll, the deputies named the politicians who, in their view, will have a real impact on political life over the next 10 years. They included Anatoliy Sobchak, with 25 percent of the votes; Konstantin Lubenchenko, 24 percent; Sergey Stankevich, 16 percent and Nursultan Nazarbayev, 11 percent. Altogether 15 percent of those polled believe that by the year 2000 neither the union nor the post of USSR president will exist.

Soyuz Leader Notes Convergence With Radicals

PM0609135091 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 4 Sep 91 p 5

[Interview with Soyuz group Chairman Yuriy Blokhin by Giuseppe Caldarola; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[passage omitted] [Caldarola] First of all, what do you think of this congress?

[Blokhin] The republics are becoming divorced from the state. This is the judicial aspect. But the objective realities here are indivisible. We have a common economic space which objectively exists. Furthermore, there are between the republics very close technical and scientific, socio-cultural, national-cultural, and—last—purely human relations. One in six families is mixed. So even within the context of the founding of these states the Soyuz group pursues the goal of maintaining the rights of the citizens who live in the territory of all the republics, irrespective of nationality, language, religion, and political beliefs. Otherwise there can be no talk of democratic development or even democracy.

[Caldarola] Do you consider the states' demand for autonomy democratic?

[Blokhin] We have always stressed the need for the citizens' equality, and this is why the union must be maintained. Unfortunately this viewpoint has not prevailed. The intention at this congress was to approve the declaration of human rights, but the agenda was abandoned from the outset.

[Caldarola] Are you among those who believe that the coup d'etat began at this congress?

[Blokhin] It was not a very clean operation from a constitutional viewpoint: The presidium included some members of the Federation Council—a constitutional body, but an exclusively consultative one vis-a-vis the president. Some of them are not even deputies. But it is they who are conducting the session's proceedings. We will demand complete observance of the laws. Otherwise minor errors could lead to serious violations. Society is divided at the ideological and political level, and repression and terror could be unleashed in the wake of the wave of euphoria prompted by the victory against the coup. I would like the international public to do its utmost to ensure that this is not permitted.

[Caldarola] Who are you: How would you describe your group ideologically? Who are your allies and your adversaries?

[Blokhin] As far as our aims are concerned, the first is to preserve a renewed federative state. Now there is talk about a confederation or even a community, but even so it is necessary to defend that which is common to us. Second, there is the aim of the equality of all citizens. Third, we have an obligation to protect the workers more actively on the social plane, because there could be major changes and we could find ourselves facing mass unemployment. All this could prompt considerable social tension and ultimately even an explosion. Last, the fourth point is the struggle to build the law-based state.

[Caldarola] That is the plan. Could you tell me who your main allies and adversaries are?

[Blokhin] Our adversaries are the radical forces, who are forcing the pace. But even with them we have found areas of convergence recently. This congress was prepared for recently mainly by the interregional group (the democratic parliamentarians' first parliamentary group—L'UNITA editor's note). But when yesterday's congress was interrupted...

[Caldarola] Interrupted?

[Blokhin] Yes, by a change in the agenda. Well, at that moment I was with them and saw how upset they were; they were preparing documents to properly start the congress after the break, at 1400 hours. Then I realized that I fully agreed with the stances embodied in the speeches of Obolenskiy, Samarin, and others.

[Caldarola] Have the disagreements now been overcome?

[Blokhin] Partly, yes. There was a lack of understanding between our groups on the issue of the state, its future, but now they are increasingly convinced that in many respects we are right. So I do not see why we should conflict or engage in futile disputes. Perhaps in the future we can move ahead together and organize a joint political structure.

[Caldarola] Do you still consider yourself a communist or not?

[Blokhin] Frankly, since the outset we have urged all political tendencies—non-party members, believers, and so forth—to join our group. The majority of people's deputies in the Soyuz group in Congress are communists, but in the association of deputies at all levels under the same name non-party members are much more numerous, and when we established ourselves as a people's movement it emerged that its members included representatives of opposing wings, even including monarchists.

[Caldarola] Do you accept the definition, conservative?

[Blokhin] There is nothing bad in the name. I believe that American or British conservatives wold not be offended to be called by it. There is always a radical sector that tends toward something that it cannot properly identify, and there is another sector—more cautious—that also wants innovations and changes, but which chooses more cautious options.

[Caldarola] If you were to vote for Yeltsin or Gorbachev, who would you vote for? Or would you choose a third candidate?

[Blokhin] In this situation it is difficult to choose between the two, since I have always considered them together and oriented toward the attainment of the same objective. But now the stronger political figure is Yeltsin, politically. I notice that he has started pursuing an autonomous policy.

[Caldarola] Do you issue a positive verdict on this new Yeltsin?

[Blokhin] Not on all his steps, but basically, yes. I tend to think that it must be he who is promoting the establishment of the economic agreement. Two-thirds of the economy is concentrated in Russia.

[Caldarola] If there were to be elections tomorrow what kind of political party would yours be—small, medium, or large?

[Blokhin] At the moment I really do not know. The situation has become more complicated. Before we had some 700 deputies in the group, but now the balance of forces has changed. This can be seen from the response from the party apparatus, which is frightened, and confused, and which tends to follow the winners. Previously some officials had a clear stance, but now they look around and try to follow the president.

[Caldarola] Who is your favorite Western leader?

[Blokhin] I would not say that I have only one. My ideal political figure is a composite one. For instance, I like the American political leaders of recent times...

[Caldarola] Bush?

[Blokhin] Reagan more. I am convinced by their clear approach to state priorities, the interests of the United States and of each American citizen. Unfortunately we have neglected this aspect; people die, and there is no response. Thatcher, too, with her volitive qualities, deserves great respect. I think we need a broad people's movement similar to De Gaulle's. His was a movement in defense of the republic, whereas ours should be in defense of the union to overcome its fragmentation.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Appoints New Soviet KGB Officials

Scham New Deputy Chairman

LD1209124391 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev has appointed Major General Nikolay Scham as deputy chairman of the Soviet KGB.

The president also issued a decree dismissing Major General Valeriy Lebedev from the post.

The decrees were distributed here today.

Oleynikov To Replace Titov

LD1209125691 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 9 [date as received] TASS—First Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Security Committee Anatoliy Oleynikov has been appointed by presidential decree as member of the State Commission for the Investigation of KGB Activities, formed in keeping with the USSR president's decree of August 28, 1991.

Gennadiy Titov has been relieved of these duties. He has also been dismissed from the post of deputy chairman of the USSR State Security Committee and chief of the second KGB chief department.

Titov Relieved of Post, Reassigned

PM1309153391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Sep 91 p 1

[Andrey Zhadkin report: "Counterintelligence Chief 'Retired'"]

[Text] We report in this edition that Lieutenant General G. Titov has been relieved of his post as deputy chairman of the USSR KGB and chief of the Second Main Directorate (counterintelligence) due to his transfer to other work. Nor will he continue to take part in the work of the State Commission for the Investigation of the Activity of State Security Organs.

Here is a commentary by RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputy Sergey Stepashin, the commission's chairman:

"I want to point out that neither I nor the other members of the state commission have any grounds for mistrusting Gennadiy Fedorovich in connction with the events of 19-21 August. USSR KGB Chairman V. Bakatin also said this in a television statement. Titov is an experienced intelligence officer, a professional, and we are sure that his knowledge has benefited our country's security."

This is what Titov himself told our correspondent.

[Titov] In the situation that has developed where virtually all leading KGB personnel are being replaced, I would not like to hang on to my post on ethical grounds, although it is not without sadness that I am leaving counterintelligence. State security organs must undoubtedly be renewed and they must be renewed with young people. I will shortly be 60 years old. I have spent almost 40 years in intelligence work, more than 20 of them abroad, and I know and love this work in my own way. I think that my experience could still come in useful.

[Zhadkin] Is it all right now to ask what you did during the putsch?

[Titov] I was on vacation from 25 July, first in Moscow and then in Sochi from 5 August. I was on vacation with my wife in a sanatorium. On the evening of 21 August, I returned to Moscow, came to work on the morning of 22 August, reported to my bosses, and began carrying out my direct duties. Neither immediately before, nor during the events did I receive any verbal, written, or telephone instructions from either Kryuchkov or any other leaders.

Bakatin: KGB Personnel To Continue Their Work

LD1109204191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1930 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—Vadim Bakatin, chairman of the USSR's KGB, had a meeting this evening with French Defense Minister Pierre Joxe, who is currently in the USSR on an official visit.

Unfortunately, journalists failed to get any information about the content of the meeting between the KGB chairman and the defense minister. During the five minutes allowed after the meeting for journalists' questions, they managed to learn from Vadim Bakatin that "professionally trained KGB personnel will further continue their work." "We will do nothing to them. Only an insignificant part of KGB personnel that would not be able to reorganize their work [perestroitsya] will resign," the USSR's KGB chairman said. Answering a question on who is chiefly to blame for the recent putsch in the USSR, Vadim Bakatin said he "would not like to act as a referee in this matter." He only repeated that "investigations are under way that will determine the most guilty party, or parties, and the degree of their participation in the preparation of the putsch."

Pierre Joxe, who first met Vadim Bakatin when they both were internal affairs ministers of their countries, praised highly his colleaque's professional and personal qualities and his convictions, which in his opinion "contribute to the establishment of democratization and law and order in the Soviet Union." The minister informed the journalists about his forthcoming meeting with USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, at which defense issues of interest to both countries will be discussed.

KGB Spokesman Denies Secret Foreign Gold Sales

OW1309103391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0300 GMT 13 Sep 91

[From "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the daily IZVESTIYA a KGB spokesman denied reports of a secret sale of $4 billion worth (some 33 tons) of Soviet gold abroad. Vnesheconombank, the USSR's central bank for foreign trade, also denies the possibility of an unsanctioned sale of Soviet gold. According to a senior Vnesheconombank staffer, the export of the hundreds of tons of gold "would be unrealistic" unless Vnesheconombank had participated in the deal.

IZVESTIYA say that during the whole of last year the USSR is known to have exported 234 tons of gold—while its annual production is between 200 and 300 tons—and the secret sale of 337 tons could not but lead to large price fluctuations on the gold market. The Soviet Union is one of the major gold exporters in the world.

KGB Telephone Bugging Procedures Outlined

PM1309092591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 91 p 2

[By V. Filin under the general heading: "Enormous Numbers of Fighters": "Do You Always Whisper to Us?"]

[Text] Rumors of the alleged mass turning off of telephones in Moscow and environs in order to "remove" bugs from them have also reached us. For all their obvious nature we decided to find out what this is about. A man who happened to be in the editorial office, a staffer from the KGB computer center, tried, albeit in general terms, to make us understand the technology of the great secret of penetrating other people's secrets.

In simplified form it looks more or less like this: Turning telephones off or on to "place" or "remove" bugging devices is not necessary. You only have to have modern apparatus and a slight knowledge of physics. Also, it is not bad to receive authorization from the prosecutor's office, but that does not affect the quality of the bugging, so there may be no such authorization. The relevant apparatus "removes" from a specific section of the telephone cable the electromagnetic background to the conversation, or it is done directly via an automatic telephone station, decodes it, and, if necessary, records it.

With the existence of powerful, rapid computers, the automatic functioning of a bugging system for a quite large number of telephone subscribers is possible. The frequencies of code words or voices are fed into the computer beforehand. If they appear on the "air," the recording is automatically begins.

Incidentally, to penetrate other people's secrets it is by no means compulsory to "eavesdrop" only on telephones, especially as there is special scrambling apparatus. It is possible to use laser apparatus which can, for instance, with the aid of a beam of a specific wavelength, detect vibrations in window panes during a conversation in a building and, after decoding, produce a tape recording of the conversation. The windows in the buildings of several embassies in Moscow are sited in such a way as to be protected against such apparatus, that is at an angle (according to the law of refraction a beam cannot return where it was sent).

A practical question arises: Is there similar apparatus at the disposal of the KGB and Ministry of Internal Affairs? There is. According to unverified information from information sources, during a search after the putsch the safe of one high-ranking staffer of the USSR president's apparatus was found to contain documents that could be obtained only by using special apparatus.

TASS Urges Restraint in Exposing Informers

LD1109230591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1312 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS international observer Valeriy Rzhevskiy]

[Excerpt] [no place-name or date as received] (TASS)—[passage omitted]

Over the past year or two a whole series of exposes of the clandestine links and collaboration of certain public and political figures with the secret services of former regimes has rolled across the countries of central and eastern Europe. There have also been forgeries fed into the hot furnaces of the revolutions. The aura of sensation, however, was extinguished very rapidly when the leaders of the new security structures refuted the ridiculous rumors, conjectures, and speculations.

Yet the question of the moral purity of the new leaders and parliamentarians has not been removed from the agenda of any of the countries of the former so-called Soviet bloc. In Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria people with reputations of being informers or stool pigeons have resigned or are resigning. The higher the post or popularity of a personality, the harder is this process of purification. Nevertheless, without it, many simply do not admit the possibility of carrying out the new policies with the old hands soiled during the times of totalitarianism.

To some extent the question of local informers keeping watch over loyal sentiments in collectives, where they "were carrying out their 'duty'," is resolved more easily. Our neighbors already have certain experience in carrying out a policy that insures moral guarantees for those who for various reasons were on the leash of the special services. They have concluded that the disclosure of lists of secret agents will give rise to such emotions and such a thirst for vengeance that psychological and even physical terror is possible. J Olszewski, a Polish politician, has warned that the archives of the special services may turn into a neutron bomb.

Many eminent politicians and scholars are today restating one and the same thought—that democracy must not be built on vengeance. Our society, however, is not psychologically ready to sweep away its feelings for revenge. The temptation to settle accounts for the years of apathy and indifference, for lives which have been trampled underfoot, for the hunger and cold of the imminent winter, is great. If this is added to existing interethnic conflicts, antagonisms, and territorial claims, then there exists the possibility of bloodshed and, as a consequence, the revival of a new totalitarianism.

Are we considering this seriously? Judging the situation, not everybody is. There are those desirous of starting a "witch hunt." Some are attracted by the idea of settling accounts with the Communists and getting revenge on the CPSU. Others have decided to become Pinkertons in order to expose the KGB colonels and generals in their new environment and in the pyramids of the new power structure. Gamsakhurdia, the Georgian president, famous for his "unusual" utterances, got so carried away in the pages of THE WASHINGTON POST for example, that he announced that M.S. Gorbachev holds a general's rank in the KGB. The Georgian president is really overdoing it!

Much is being said at the moment about the KGB archives. One would like to hope that they will "speak" and tell us much from the history of a past era. If they wish, let the characters and executives themselves speak, as happened on Tuesday with Russian television which showed a film confession "How I Served in Stalin's Bodyguard."

Acting Cabinet To Dissolve After Pact Signed

OW1209111791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The acting Soviet cabinet will stop its work immediately after most republics sign the economic agreement. This was disclosed to journalists on Thursday by the head of the cabinet Ivan Silayev after a meeting with the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

He reaffirmed that the Monday session of the State Council will discuss the key principles of the future agreement that will be outlined by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy. He also said that at the same session Yavlinskiy will submit a plan for cooperation with foreign governments and organizations intending to offer emergency aid to the USSR. Data related to the volume and nature of the country's needs will be reported to Western partners after discussion by the State Council.

The aid is to be given between this autumn and next spring. Full understanding on the issue was reached during the talks with James Baker, Silayev said. He added that humanitarian aid will be distributed with the mediation of the Red Cross and food aid under short-term credits through the acting cabinet and later the joint economic committee.

In a brief interview after the meeting James Baker said that he now has a much better idea of the work of the cabinet led by Silayev as well as the essence of planned economic reforms. He said the West would give most resolute support.

To persistent questions of journalists about his reported resignation Silayev replied that the matter will be decided by the State Council.

Silayev did not rule out the possibility that after the dissolution of his cabinet some of its members would be included in the future joint economic committee.

Yakovlev: Gorbachev Powerful Enough for Leadership

AU1209082291 Hamburg BILD in German 12 Sep 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev, adviser to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, by Werner Kahl in Bonn; date not given: "Gorbachev Is Just Powerful Enough"]

[Text] [Kahl] Is another putsch possible?

[Yakovlev] I do not consider it possible, but nobody can rule it out. Following the failed coup, the situation is not easy. Optimism and caution are called for. What is at stake is the survival of our young democracy.

[Kahl] Has democracy definitely won?

[Yakovlev] Democracy has won. That offers Western businessmen good opportunities. What we need is aid for our economy. After my arrival in Frankfurt and before my meeting with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, I held talks with Deutsche Bank and Dresdner Bank officials and with President Weiss of the Federation of German Industry.

[Kahl] How powerful is Mikhail Gorbachev now?

[Yakovlev] He is just powerful enough for the leadership.

[Kahl] Will Honecker be extradited?

[Yakovlev] I am not dealing with this problem.

[Kahl] Who in Moscow decides on his extradition?

[Yakovlev] I do not know. This does not form part of my responsibilities.

Article on Gorbachev's Decision To Give Evidence

PM1309100591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Article by Yu. Feofanov: "For the First Time a Head of the Soviet State, Like Any Citizen, Is Subject to the Law"]

[Text] The legal world and indeed many of our own lawyers will be rather surprised at the sensational report that the top state official is giving an investigator, and later perhaps the court, evidence as a witness in the putsch case. This is so natural for any rule-of-law regime that "they" totally fail to understand our delight. Because our chiefs and leaders have never been "simply citizens"—still less citizens who know where the courts are. During the flourishing stagnation, A. Ibragimov, the then chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Court, told me how he once hinted that a secretary of the Republican Communist Party Central Committee should give evidence in court. The chairman was almost expelled from the party and almost dismissed, as a matter of course.

No, for us Gorbachev as witness is a sensation. Just as any "legal movement" by leading figures is still a sensation. It was Mikhail Sergeyevich who once threatened Artem Tarasov with a lawsuit, considering himself to have been slandered. There was no lawsuit, however; there was the usual order to the USSR general prosecutor to initiate proceedings against the subject.

It seems the president cannot get off the "legal hook." The situation will probably not be very comfortable for him. I have a sense of deep satisfaction: The president remains the first citizen, but among citizens equal before the law.

Kalugin Denies Bulgarian Connection in Putsch

AU1309103591 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 6-7 Sep 91 p 1

[Telephone report on interview with Oleg Kalugin by journalist Boyko Angelov "especially for VECHERNI NOVINI," in Moscow on 6 September: "There Is No Bulgarian Connection"]

[Text] I put the following question to Major General Oleg Kalugin, USSR people's deputy and one of the most active participants in the democratic processes in Russia: Did Bulgaria—the Bulgarian Socialist Party, Government, security organs, or any other Bulgarian institution—play any part in the attempted coup?

"This is completely absurd," the general said. "The coup was prepared by an extremely close circle, in conditions of absolute secrecy, and in a very hasty manner. I cannot conceive that the plotters had any time, or indeed any intention, to seek contacts, let alone assistance, from outside. However, the conduct of our people abroad is quite another question. Each of them acted according to his own conscience."

I asked Oleg Danilovich whether the KGB might be able to provide a more specific reply to my question. His answer was: No one will pay any attention to such stupidities.

Justice Ministry's Questions on Coup Examined

PM1209153091 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Sep 91 p 1

[Vladimir Kuznechevskiy article: "Not for Jesus' Sake, but for a Crust of Bread"]

[Text] It is true enough that when times get hard, the Devil himself will become a monk in his old age. In order to preserve your own prosperous position, you can change your faith overnight and even persecute your own people.

On Saturday and Sunday the leaderships of many of the capital's institutions and social organizations were in turmoil. The reason was the dreadful telephone messages they had received from Union structures. Let me give you an example: "USSR Justice Ministry. Comrade Aleksandr Ivanovich Kuzmin, chief of the Administration for Social Associations. Telephone inquiry from ministry staffer Galina Vladimirovna Sklyarova. Telephone 297-18-77. Questions: 1. Did your organization adopt any decisions on the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] during the period 19 through 23 August? 2. Were any materials relating to the SCSE's actions published in the organization's press organs during the period 19 through 23 August? 3. Were any decisions sent from the center to the regions? 4. What was the reaction of your organization's grass-roots structures to SCSE statements?"

It is easy to imagine the feelings of the leaders of organizations who received this telephone message Friday. Everyone has witnessed the suspension of the activity of an organization which welcomed the SCSE and issued directives to grass-roots organizations—the CPSU. Therefore, a weekend's creative work resulted in answers something like this: We did not immediately recognize the SCSE, and the majority of the staffers defended the White House at the barricades.

I am afraid that unless the zeal of the staffers of USSR Justice Minister Comrade Lushchikov's apparatus is halted, it will become clear very soon that the entire population of the capital, to a man, came out against the SCSE, and millions of law-abiding citizens of Moscow and the Moscow region spent days and nights at the barricades around the White House.

It is not, of course, a good idea to respond to this hypocrisy in similar vein, but I cannot help asking a question of my own: Did USSR Justice Minister Comrade Lushchikov's department go to the barricades itself during those fateful days of 19-21 August, that it has ventured to judge others? Judging by Comrade Lushchikov's speech at the emergency USSR Supreme Soviet session at the end of August, a very different answer to this question suggests itself.

Document 'Confirms' CPSU Support for Coup

PM1209111491 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Sep 91 p 1

[SIA report: "Unofficial"]

[Text] According to reports received from unofficial sources, in the sealed CPSU Central Committee building, where all the materials in existence are now being handed over to archive organs, a document has been discovered that confirms Staraya Square's support for the attempted coup d'etat.

The document is a draft resolution for a future Central Committee plenum, drawn up by Central Committee apparatus staffers, proposing that the formation of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] be approved. It is not yet clear when the draft was drawn up—before or after 19 August.

Commission To List CPSU Holdings in Moscow

LD1209222191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] The president of the Russian Federation has agreed to conduct an inventory of the property that previously belonged to the Communist Party of Russia and the Soviet Union on the republic's territory. In Moscow the work was entrusted to a special commission led by a member of the Moscow government, (Aleksandr Muzikanskiy). The nationalization of the property and its further use is beyond the commission's jurisdiction. The size of the Communist Party's property has always been a (?seat) of mystery, known maybe only to the executive manager of the party's Central Committee, Nikolay Kruchina, who has committed suicide. When our correspondent asked (Aleksandr Muzikanskiy) what is known of the party's property in Moscow, he said this:

[Begin (Muzikanskiy) recording, in Russian with superimposed translation into English] There are several types of property. Real estate comprises first of all the party's Central Committee buildings on the Staraya Square, with a total of 174,000 square meters and equipped with all the modern equipment. There are also the CPSU-sponsored Institute of Social Sciences, the Acadamy of Social Sciences, and several higher party schools. Near Moscow there are many rest homes and country houses. Transport facilities include some 1,000 cars and repair shops. In the Soviet Union the party owned several hundred publishing houses, whereas its Moscow polygraphic base was represented by PRAVDA and the MOSCOW PRAVDA complexes. Many buildings were leased to various joint ventures and private companies that could afford great rent. In addition the party has banking accounts that are difficult to reveal. [end recording]

In his decree the Russian President, Yeltsin, appealed to all the banks asking to help disclose the party's deposits. In Soviet banks the party's accounts have been freezed. Asked by our correspondent if it is realistic to disclose the party's deposits in foreign banks, the Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov said this:

[Begin Popov recording, in Russian with superimposed translation into English] I think foreign banks will hardly give any information before the court ruling. In addition, Western communist parties set up joint ventures with the CPSU and some money might be transfered on their accounts and kept secret. [end recording]

The head of the inventory commission, (Aleksandr Muzikanskiy), thinks it would be necessary to form a special commission to investigate the party's financial activities. This is worthwhile, because the market value of the party's property—put at 5.3 billion rubles—is, according to (Aleksandr Muzikanskiy), tens or hundreds times higher. The governing bodies have not yet decided on a way to hand over party assets to the people. It may be done under a specially adopted law on nationalization or following a decision of the governing bodies of the party itself.

Legality of Control of Party Archives Viewed

PM1309084591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[A. Petrushov "Opinion": "Bolshevik Echo"]

[Text] I have asked the CPSU Central Committee numerous times to help investigate the past of certain party bosses who have compromised themselves. I remember I needed to find out why one of them was not sent to the front in 1941 but rode out the war at the rear. I knocked on all the doors, and I met a cold refusal everywhere. I felt the power of impenetrable secrecy in full measure when I tried to check on the biography of a loyal comrade of Brezhnev, which, in my view, had been garbled.

This is why, I confess, I rushed with great curiosity to the building on Staraya Square, where journalists had been promised access to the "holy of holies"—the CPSU Central Archive. I will not hide the fact that I too was staggered by what I saw. Both the current archive of the Central Committee's General Department and the archive of leading cadres are unique storehouses fitted out with modern equipment. I wanted to exclaim: We are able, we can! Whoever gains access to the primary sources will learn a great deal, a very great deal.

All was well on that day. Nevertheless, despite all the new tenants' cordiality, I left Staraya Square with a sense of bitterness and bewilderment. A complex question occurred not only to me but also to other colleagues: On what legal grounds are Russian archivists in charge of the party archive? A decision made by the Moscow City Soviet? Decrees of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and USSR presidents? But such actions must be based on the law, and the law alone.

The leadership of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Committee for Archive Affairs felt they were the sole masters here within the walls of the Central Committee. Committee Chairman Rudolf Pikhoya said with winning sincerity that the decrees on the party archives and on their transfer to the jurisdiction of RSFSR organs were dictated by concern over the fate of documents that might be destroyed by the Central Committee apparatus. To support this conclusion, he stated these facts: There was torn and ripped paper on the carpets in the corridors, and there were bags of documents that had not yet been taken away. Let us assume that this was so. However, piles of unwanted papers are removed from any editorial office every morning. Why keep all sorts of garbage? But this is a digression. The chief issue is how to make these claims tally with what we journalists ourselves saw. The archives we were shown were in excellent condition and the documents were intact. Yet these are the most valuable and largest storehouses. Why have they not been destroyed or plundered?

The Russian archivists also have another explanation. Answering a question about the legality of sealing offices, removing the contents of safes, and examining storehouses, Committee Deputy Chairman Vladimir Tyuneyev modestly declared that all the committee's actions are in accord with the inventory commission set up after the decrees. From the CPSU Central Committee it includes Central Committee Secretary Petr Luchinskiy; that is, what is there to talk about? Why get angry? The transfer of the archives is sanctioned by the party Central Committee itself. Address all complaints to it. He is right on this point. Communists will hardly support the position of the Central Committee, which uncomplainingly agreed to the illegal seizure of party property. Pardon us, they will say, all this was created with our membership dues.

Of course, Rudolf Germanovich has his own view of legality. He declared he has great respect for constitutional law. In his opinion, however, a new situation has now taken shape in the development of law. Regarding the changing nature of the social system, the nature of the law is changing too. The previous norms no longer operate particularly. Today it is necessary to use some totally indisputable principles. Which ones? Very simple ones: If you have saved sequestered archives, this means the measures are good and just.

The grounds are rather frail, you will agree. On the other hand, a determination can be sensed. Remember the words of Lenin in 1918: "During a revolutionary period law is relative." How odd is the logic of political struggle. What? Is a Bolshevik echo being heard again?

GRU Said To Jam Foreign Radios During Coup

PM1309092191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 91 p 3

[By A. Korzun under the "Spy News" rubric: "The Main Intelligence Directorate—Did It Jam Broadcasts?"]

[Text] Despite categorical assurances from the leadership of the USSR Defense Ministry General Staff Main Intelligence Directorate [GRU] concerning its department's complete lack of interference in our country's internal affairs during the August putsch, some GRU staffers are refuting what their superiors are saying.

For example, we received a call from an officer in the Belorussian Military District who told us that the GRU radio intelligence subunit where he works received an order from Moscow 19 August. In addition to the normal monitoring of foreign radio broadcasts, an unusual task had been set: to jam transmissions from Western radio stations and get a fix on independent domestic stations.

Another officer from Moscow even told us the number of the order from the commanding officer of the GRU Sixth Directorate under which the foreign "voices" were jammed: No. 2066/33 dated 19 August 1991.

Presidential Bodyguards on Actions During Coup

LD1209200591

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1915 GMT on 10 September broadcasts a program on the USSR presidential bodyguards. The program begins with the caption "TV Novosti. Bodyguards." The video shows a presidential limousine arriving at various locations and bodyguards surrounding it and generally going about their duties. Then clips are shown of the coup attempt, followed by a signpost pointing to Foros, and a guarded villa by the sea.

An unidentified announcer says: "The president is always under protection by bodyguards in neat suits, starched shirts, and ties. This, however, is only the tip of the iceberg. They have become accustomed to dress this way. They also have become accustomed, however, to the fact that their personal lives are almost an illusion. Earlier we knew little, if at all, about this top secret KGB unit, about the people who work for it. Today, we have an opportunity of meeting five of 32 people who protect the country's president and, in essence, the democracy he personifies. In their thoughts they were with many of us at the barricades. Together with the defenders of the Russian White House they stopped the junta in its tracks.

"In his first interview following his return from Foros and on the following day, at his news conference, Mikhail Gorbachev said:

Gorbachev: "A complete isolation from the sea and the land. Thirty two bodyguards remained with me, the ones that decided, as it were, to stay until the end. They divided up all the areas of defense, including my family, allocated all the positions, and decided to stay until the end." The video then shows five men at a table; the screen captions identify them as Oleg Klimov, Boris Golentsov, Valeriy Cherkasov, Andrey Belikov, and Nikolay Tektov. The announcer says: "You are charged with directly protecting the president. A great deal has now been said about how all this happened in Foros. One would like to get information from the horse's mouth."

Cherkasov: "The first information that something unusual was happening came from officers of the bodyguard who tried to leave the territory of the dacha and were unable to do this. They said that border troops did not let them out."

Belikov: "Not all the bodyguards were armed because some of us were off duty. Those on shift were armed. Those of us who are off duty and relaxing after work hand in their weapons. We hand in the weapons for safe keeping so that they are easily available. The first thing I heard, the first report I heard, was that the men going out should not be armed but should remain off duty, including the drivers. The men quickly caught on. The shift leaders and the group leaders reported this to the deputy head of the bodyguard section. We went to the duty room. Generalov was there and at that moment he gave an emotional talk.

"He was explaining to the men who they were protecting. He would come up to you and tell you that you were protecting a traitor, that you, yourselves would be traitors."

Announcer: "I had heard that Generalov was a good man and that he had earned his description as being first class. What can you say about this man? Why did he move against the president?"

Klimov: "He was like a suitcase with a false bottom."

Klimov says that he was a careerist, not sincere, and disliked. He continues:

"Virtually, at 1800 everything was decided for us, and somewhere after nine in the evening, when the president summoned us, I reported to him that there were 32 bodyguards at the dacha who had said that we will be with you to the end."

Announcer: "This was moral support for the president."

Klimov: "I think that it was great support."

Golentsov: "We did not have a very large force or many weapons, just a few individual weapons. I do not think these weapons played any great role at that time. We protected only the house containing the president and his family. This was the final barrier, and if any physical attempts had been made, we would have stood firm until the end. The president would have been the last. No one had any doubt of this."

Klimov briefly describes the conditions during the 72 hours. Golentsov then goes on to describe the discomforts and security worries caused by the journey back to Moscow.

Cherkasov and Belikov tell the announcer that the bodyguards do not have any special privileges from their work. They say that their shared experiences have brought them all closer together. Belikov relates how upset his wife had been at what had happened.

Golentsov concludes by saying about his colleagues: "I had doubts about many things, but one thing I never doubted was the bodyguards." The program ends with video showing training exercises with bodyguards protecting officials from simulated attacks.

Deputies Protest 'Persecution' of Communists

PM1209114191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Statement by Group of Deputies"]

[Text] Some 50 USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies recently issued a statement voicing resolute denunciation of the anticonstitutional adventurist actions of a group of CPSU members who took part in the 19-21 August plot.

At the same time the deputies report that they protest categorically against the indiscriminate accusations and persecution and other illegal actions against millions of members of the CPSU and the RSFSR Communist Party and the suspension of the party's activity and the confiscation of its property. Lawlessness compromises in the eyes of the world community the activity of the state in which now some forces, now others are operating counter to the law. It is essential to realize this and resolutely halt the tyranny and violence against Communists.

Luchinskiy Denies Rumors of 'Underground' CPSU

PM1209134591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 91 p 1

[I. Kadulin report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat"]

[Text] A rumor has spread around the country. The Communist Party has gone underground. And plans to exact political revenge are being hatched from a clandestine apartment. We spent a long time calling party functionaries' apartments. And finally we lucked out. CPSU Central Committee Secretary Petr Kirillovich Luchinskiy answered the phone.

"This is news to me. We are no longer engaged in political activity. If people assemble in different places, it is only some kind of platform.

"We did indeed meet at the Central Committee. That was the day after the Congress of People's Deputies ended. Ivashko, Dzasokhov, Stroyev, and I called Girenko... We were tackling a very important question. It was necessary somehow to complete the dismissal documents for Central Committee apparatus staffers. A decision by the Secretariat was essential for this, and we made it. That actually is everything. There was no question of resuming any kind of political activity, let alone illegal political activity."

It remains to be added that out of several thousand square meters of floor space the CPSU Central Committee retains just two rooms, reached via entrance No. 5. That is all the news there is from the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat.

No Covert Activities Planned

AU1309094391 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 13 Sep 91 p 3

[Werner Stanzl report from Moscow: "Doomsday Mood in Central Committee"]

[Excerpt] In the past few days, the rumor that leading functionaries of the dissolved CPSU are continuing their work underground and that the party's Central Committee had held a secret session has persisted in Moscow. In an interview for DER STANDARD, Pyotr Luchinskiy, one of the Central Committee secretaries, confirmed that there had been such a session.

Luchinskiy: "But we only discussed the dismissal of our employees." The secretary explained the rumor about a secret Central Committee session as follows: "It is true that Central Committee members met in the Central Committee building, where we still are allowed to use two offices for the dissolution work, on the day after the Congress of People's Deputies (last Thursday, 5 September), to discuss the dismissal of our employees.

"In addition to myself, the Central Committee Secretaries Ivashko, Dzasokhov, Stroyev, and other members participated in the meeting. We discussed the conditions for the dismissal of our personnel and then we agreed unanimously on it, although, strictly speaking, the Central Committee did not constitute a quorum because of the absentees. However, we proceeded on the assumption that the observation of our duties as employers has priority over the statutes and acted according to these resolutions."

Luchinskiy assured DER STANDARD that neither was the other topic discussed nor were further resolutions adopted. "I have not heard that any Central Committee member wants to continue to work in this function and I do not know anything at all about underground activities." [passage omitted]

Kryuchkov Denies 'Illegality' of New Party

LD1209163991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0700 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Anatoliy Kryuchkov, member of the organizational committee for creating a party of communists, refuted reports that their organizational committee was set up illegally. It was set up on 8 September and intends to act within the Constitution and laws of the country. Nevertheless, prohibiting CPSU activity was described as anticonstitutional. In Kryuchkov's words, the founders of the new party intend to cooperate with other groups of Communists and supporters of socialism and, in the first instance, with the organizational committee for creating a union of Communists, organized by another part of the Marxist platform coordinating council.

New 'Party of Communists' Holds News Conference

PM1209112691 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Sep 91 p 1

[Irina Lobanovskaya report under the "Sensation" rubric: "New, Entirely New Party of Communists"]

[Text] A news conference was held in Moscow yesterday by the organizing committee of the new "Party of Communists" (that is its working title). Journalists' questions were answered by committee members Anatoliy Kryuchkov, Vladimir Burdyugov, and Sergey Skvortsov. (All unknowns)

The new party regards the situation which has arisen in the country as an antisocialist coup and wants to attract supporters of the communist idea, the idea of social justice.

The party also does not approve of the events of 19-21 August. At present its objectives are to struggle for the country's unity, for the Union, and for the improvement of the population's standard of living (in particular, free education and health care).

The members of the new party are **against** the suppression of opposition which began after the abortive coup, **against** restrictions on the press, and **against** the nationalization of party property.

Organizational Committee on Aims

LD1309004391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] The organizational committee for creating the Party of Communists announced at a news conference on Wednesday that it is beginning the registration of those willing to join the party and that it is forming its territorial structures. The organizational committee will act on the basis of the program of principles of the Marxist platform within the CPSU. The party organizers denied reports that the committee's creation on 8 September was illegal. They declared that they intend to act within the framework of the Constitution and the laws of the country. Having described the ban on CPSU activities as unconstitutional, members of the organizational committee did not, however, rule out that they could be subjected to persecutions for communist activities. The committee stated that the party has nothing in common with the former CPSU leadership and has as its aim the struggle for preserving social guarantees and the people's standard of living, as well as the unity of the country and defense of the democracy that is threatened by the anti-socialist dictatorship. The communists are prepared for honest political struggle and believe they have a good chance to succeed. Vladimir Burdyugov, head of a department of the Radio Instrumentation Research Institute; Anatoliy Kryuchkov, a leading research member of one of the Moscow research institutes; and Sergey Skvortsov, the editor in chief of NARODNAYA GAZETA, took part in the news conference.

Yakovlev Speculates on Post-Coup Situation

AU1309111691 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 13 Sep 91 p 4

[Excerpts from an "exclusive" interview with Gorbachev's adviser Aleksandr Yakovlev by TASS correspondents Viktor Chistiakov and Sergey Sosnokovskiy in Bonn "for DIE WELT"; date not given: "There Is No Way Back"]

[Text] The foundation stone for the putsch was laid six years ago in opposition to Gorbachev's perestroyka. For six years, the representatives of the "old way of thinking" not only undermined democratization, but also massively hindered the economic upswing, Aleksandr Yakovlev, Gorbachev's adviser, complains. When he discussed the possibilities of German aid with Frankfurt bankers during his visit to the FRG, he heard "honest answers, even though I must admit that some of these answers were very unpleasant and saddened me very much." When Yakovlev talked to Kohl, Ambassador Vladislav Terekhov had to wait in an adjacent room. He had been accused of having an unclear position on the putsch. Kohl promised Yakovlev that he would advocate an EC campaign to help avoid food problems in winter. Bonn TASS correspondents Viktor Chistiakov and Sergey Sosnokovskiy interviewed Yakovlev for DIE WELT. DIE WELT documents Yakovlev's most important statements:

I believe that what we call the putsch did not start this August but six years ago. In fact, the putsch originated in 1985, when perestroyka was born. The forces that always were against the restructuring of our country did everything they could to prevent an advance of the West and of Western capital on the Soviet market and to thwart the conclusion of favorable deals. They justified their actions with ideological reasons, saying that a sell-out of the country was allegedly under way. This was a movement that was headed by the leaders of state power.

* * *

It was annoying to hear German bankers and industrialists give examples of how very advantageous deals had been thwarted. Thus, the discussion about a cooperative project to set up a system of commercial satellite communications has been dragging on for many years. It is obvious that this project would be beneficial for both us and our partners because, after all, the USSR has rockets that can put satellites with heavy equipment into orbit. We could provide services to the whole world and get good money for it. However, it is not the prohibitions of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls that are the problem, but we ourselves because no one wants to make a decision. If a stock corporation, however, had tackled the matter, it would have seized the opportunity immediately. But there existed the old principle of not being interested: If this is a state matter, it is none of my business.

As soon as the respective documents arrived at the ministry, the matter became stuck. They did not want any improvements, because if the companies start to act independently, they will show that the ministries are no longer necessary in their old form and number, that they are simply superfluous. Yes, and the ministries consist of thousands and thousands of people, including leading people who want to stay in office.

* * *

I am firmly convinced that now, after the failure of the coup, better opportunities have developed for Western business in the USSR. First, we are now removing all the artificial obstacles that prevented the development of cooperation. Second, businessmen from the West will no longer have to come to terms with the old bureaucratic apparatus.

Finally, an economic union will be established in the near future, to which at least 14 of the 15 republics will belong. So far, Lithuanian Parliamentary President Landsbergis is the only one who has stated that his republic will not join the union. However, I think that if this union is called an economic agreement and not an economic union, Lithuania will participate. Reality will force it to do so. As soon as the republics become aware of their freedom and feel it, they will also feel the need to join together. They will, however, establish structures that serve the republics and not vice versa.

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In our country a society was established which was socialist in name only. Its nature was antisocialist. In this society there was not even a trace of such principles as social justice, protection of the people, and collectivism. Some sort of society of dependent people was established: Everyone said "Give!" without wanting to give something in return.

What do we have as the result of the processes that took years? The guild of merchants with which the new Russia began has been destroyed. The aristocracy has also been destroyed. Religion: destroyed. The peasantry: destroyed.

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The intelligentsia is partly destroyed and has been constantly persecuted, even though part of the intelligentsia happily served the regime and even dreamed of a return to the past because they were well paid. Do you think that I was hounded for ideological reasons? They are as far away from ideology as we are from Jupiter. I have heard that some representatives of the creative intelligentsia—writers—published their collective works six to eight times a year without having any right to do so and received enormous payments for it. I was against this practice, and they immediately lashed out at me, declared me an enemy of democracy, a traitor, anticommunist, a Zionist, and a Russiaphobe.

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However, now the forces of resistance are in disarray and are demoralized. There will be no return to the past, the way back is practically impossible. For instance, in the Army defense ministries of the republics have been established, national guards are being formed, the military is no longer unified. Perhaps, something like a general staff committee will be established, a purely military organ that has nothing to do with politics.

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As regards the KGB, there will be important changes there, too. Bugging has already been abolished, thank God. The guard service has been separated from the former structure. Other departments will also be removed from the KGB's sphere of responsibility.

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If three people had not been killed during the events in August, I would not put the organizers of the putsch on trial. On the contrary, I would propose them all for the highest orders; for instance, I would award them the title "Hero of Socialist Labor." Basically, they achieved more during those three days than had been achieved during all six years of perestroyka before. If the putsch had not taken place, we would have had to go through another 10 years to come to the current situation, and during all these years the danger of "an insidious counterrevolution" would have continued to exist.

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Unfortunately, until now we have not been able to live without an "enemy image," and if there is none, one thinks up something. I came out strongly against this not only before but also immediately after the putsch. In the current situation, may God save us from again starting to look for enemies who can be blamed for all our misery! Even if someone supported the putsch verbally, this does not mean anything. However, if he acted on the side of the putschists, that is different, because, after all, one can state one's position, take up the flag, take to the street, and proclaim one's support for one policy or the other, but one must not shoot.

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Now, however, there is another danger for our democracy: A start has been made on clarifying who did what during the putsch. But why does one actually have to accuse those who did not go to the barricades during these days? Some have perhaps never been interested in politics, others were perhaps pusillanimous, because, after all, not everybody has enough courage. One must understand that. On the other hand, there will be many who take advantage of these events and pretend that they fought actively against the putsch.

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For me it was extremely important that during the days of the putsch, the young people took to the streets and squares for the first time in years. It is characteristic that these boys and girls have grown up in the years of perestroyka, because six years ago they were 17, 18 years old. When the decisive moment came, they said with a loud voice: We have something to defend. My son, too, went to the barricades, even though he has three children. I said to him: "Are you crazy?" My son answered: "Father, if I am not there, I will despise myself for the rest of my life."

Barannikov Rejects 'Repressive Measures'

PM1109111991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[By V. Andreyev: "V. Barannikov: 'My God Is the Law' at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] "We will not take repressive measures, but will establish order on the basis of the law." This statement was made yesterday by Viktor Barannikov, the new minister of internal affairs, at a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists. He noted that a significant growth in crime has been observed in the country since 1989. This year alone it has risen by 19 percent.

Correspondents inquired about V. Barannikov's CPSU membership. The minister noted that he ended his party membership back in 1990 and stressed that there must only be one criterion in the activity of officers of the internal affairs organs: legality. It was on the basis of the law that V. Barannikov promised to restore order in the country.

Minister on Return of Treasures Taken During War

LD1209042591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Galina Vinitskaya and Anna Tatarina]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Sep (TASS)—Only on a bilateral exchange basis can there be any talk of returning the cultural treasures taken out of the USSR during World War II. This was stated at a news conference held here today by Nikolay Gubenko, USSR minister of culture.

Recalling, among other things, that a unique collection of 15th century musical scores has been returned to Hamburg, the minister reported that the Soviet Union has already handed over more than a million items of works of culture including treasures from the famous Dresden gallery. In the minister's opinion, Germany should repay the vast sums the USSR has invested in maintaining and restoring these treasures.

"We will not return works of art to Germany until we receive similar valuables stolen from Soviet territory during the war years. After all, these belong to Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, and other peoples," he stressed.

Weekly's Interview of Republic Presidents Noted

LD1009205391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0730 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Report by Igor Gruziya, moderator of review "What the Papers are Writing About"; questions and answers read by Gruziya]

[Text] Now I am handing over the microphone to Igor Gruziya, moderator of the review "What the Papers Are Writing About."

[Gruziya] Hello, dear radio listeners. Let us hope that the events of the past week will lead our country into a new round of the historical spiral, although the danger will continue to revolve around the circle of history which began in 1905 at the barricades of Kransaya Presnaya. It was there, again at the barricades, that it ended in 1991. The circle of history is closed.

What is awaiting us? How do prominent politicians assess the present and its problems? This interview with the presidents of the republics is published in the SOBESEDNIK weekly:

Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic was asked: After the victory over the putschists, can one speak of the unity of democratic forces?

[Yeltsin] That word unity makes one too melancholic, but what a fusion of nations and greater understanding of each other there is! That is always the case after tragic events. What is important, also, is that President Gorbachev returned to another Russia, to another country. It seemed to me that he realized finally that without democracy, without its support, without radical reforms, there can be not forward movement.

It seems to me that he has recognized that, just as he has recognized that the republics need independence, the decentralization of the economy, of the social sphere, and of culture. It seems to me that he has realized also that the role of the CPSU must end, de facto, and, it seems, that this has not yet come about de jure.

[Question] This is what Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, answered to the question that he adopted a rather strict position regarding the Union treaty: Will others follow in his footsteps?

[Nazarbayev] I do not know, time is needed here. The present reality, however, is such that the treaty was close to establishing a confederation. Now that the Ukraine, Belorussia, and the other republics have declared their independence, now that they are setting up their armies, there must be discussion about confederation. Through a confederation, we must arrive at a normal federation.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan said that the center had died. Was it justifiable to pose the question like that? That was the next question asked of Nursulatan Nazarbayev.

[Nazarbayev] I do not think so. We are states, after all. There must be continuity of power. Until a new union is formed, no matter what it is like, be it confederative or federative, the existing institutes of power must operate.

Here is what Askar Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan, said.

[Question] What will be the fate of the present USSR Supreme Soviet and of some totalitarian structures?

[Akayev] The USSR Supreme Soviet must be dissolved. It elaborated many laws but was unable to defend the main law, the Constitution. I also support the reorganization of the KGB, border troops, intelligence, and counterintelligence. They are necessary, but the part that was always directed against the people must be dismantled, and informants must be judged with all the severity of the law.

[Question] How long will it take to stabilize the situation?

[Akayev] No less than a year, Askar Askayev says. First, we need to begin privatization, remove state control, and actively support enterprise. There are legimitate proposals, but privatization is not under way. One must begin at this point.

Republics' Foreign Ministers To Meet in Moscow

OW1209104291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0030 GMT 12 Sep 91

[From "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] has learned that foreign ministers from republics making up the USSR are to meet in Moscow before the end of this week. They'll discuss issues connected with the qualitatively new situation in the country and coordinate the feasible forms of interaction. Such a meeting has been postponed more than once. According to what "DP" has been told at Russia's Foreign Ministry, even now it's not absolutely certain that this meeting will take place. At the moment the ministers are extremely busy in connection with the Conference on Human Dimension in progress in Moscow in the framework of the CSCE.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry's department on constituent republics believes that the planned meeting will be held after all, but in a somewhat "reduced composition." Speaking with DP's correspondent a spokesman for the department said he hopes that envoys from at least 10 or 11 constituent republics will join the planned meeting. After the State Council's decision to recognize the independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, 12 republics formally remain within the USSR.

Pankin, Ministers To Meet

LD1309075391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Text] Today in Moscow the foreign ministers of the former Soviet Union republics will meet. USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin said at a news conference that the meeting will discuss questions of the new forms of interaction between the Union and republican foreign ministries, at the level of ministries and diplomatic missions, as well as their cooperation in trade and economic relations with foreign states.

Pankin also said that, at the Conference on the Human Dimension, the Soviet delegation had proposed working out the human rights position in conditions of states of emergency.

State Council, Republic Foreign Ministers Meet

LD1309134491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1313 GMT 13 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Sep (TASS)—The latest, fourth session of the State Council of the USSR and union republic foreign ministers opened today in Moscow at the USSR Foreign Ministry in Aleksey Tolstoy Street.

There are two main issues on the agenda of the meeting—examination of new forms and methods of interpretation between the Union and republic ministries of foreign affairs, and the role of diplomatic institutions in implementing trade and economic ties with foreign states.

An exchange of opinions on the issue of leadership of Soviet establishments abroad is also to take place.

Republics' Ministers Discuss Supply Problems

PM1209153791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[V. Romanyuk report: "As They Become Sovereign, the Republics Are Demanding Strict Penalties for Disruption of Deliveries"]

[Text] The republics' ministers of material resources have examined questions of stepping up national economic ties in 1992. Although the participants in the conference repeatedly tried to persuade one another that it is a question of sovereign states and the Russian Government's representative bluntly declared that Russia will not tolerate Union organs on its territory, there was still talk of the center's coordinating role, and of structures that will ensure the functioning of a single economic space.

On what principles is this to be based? V. Chelenkov, member of the Commission for Material and Technical Supply of the National Economy, formulated them as follows: They are to be based on principles of noninterference and sovereignty for every republic and complete autonomy in resolving resource problems. The mechanism for the exercise of enterprises' rights and responsibility is changing on this basis.

The republics are entitled to establish any forms of regulation on their territory, but in relations between states common "rules of the game" are to be established—with fairly tough penalties. In particular, it is not permitted to reexport (resell) raw material resources, and the penalties may amount to the value of these resources (at world prices).

There are three problems here. The first concerns the responsibility for deliveries. In conditions where centralized structures have been destroyed, relations between the republics are based on "word of honor" and nothing more. Arbitration services have been disrupted and it is not easy to set up a new mechanism. Some speakers said that in principle such a mechanism is hardly possible. The point is that the damage caused by failure to deliver goods on time can far outweigh the cost of the goods, particularly if it is a matter of components for large machines. So what is new in the proposed program? The republic's government will now bear responsibility for delivery shortfalls. Reimbursement for damage will be sufficient to make it possible to acquire goods by other means, for instance, via a commodity exchange. Positions can be reconciled through arbitration or penalties can be waived on a reciprocal basis.

The second problem is price formation. Three options are suggested: 1) deliveries of output themselves should be guaranteed and free prices established; 2) prices should be regulated—taking costs and profitability into account; and 3) priority should be given to fixed prices.

The third problem is the level of state orders. In principle, the republics are entitled to use any forms of regulation with regard to movements of goods—including state orders, deliveries, and priority shipments. The intention is to set an approximate level for the state order—no more than 70 percent of total production. It must be mutually agreed upon between the republics without fail; this is essential. The republic is entitled to license export of its output, but the meeting's participants said in clear-cut terms that intersectoral cooperation should be preserved. The center is entrusted with drawing up recommended balances of imports and exports from the republics.

V. Durasov, one of the leaders of the former Union Ministry of Economics and Forecasting, suggested a supposedly new management structure which, however, found room for all the structures of the former USSR Cabinet of Ministers. Many people voiced the following opinion of this plan: "The former center is being revived!"

More conciliatory opinions, however, were also aired. A. Bektemisov, chairman of the Kazakh Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], reminded people that all countries have a coordinating center. When the talk turned to specific complexes, mutual understanding was reached far more rapidly. A. Ustkachkintsev, first deputy minister of the chemical and petroleum refining industry, produced figures to show the indissolubility of the country's chemical complex. Its disposable product constitutes just 20 percent and intrasectoral interrepublic transactions account for 80 percent of output. For instance, in order to produce tires, the industry has to purchase petroleum and zinc, and 38 products have to be "turned out" within the sector, covering virtually all republics. In order to manufacture washing powders, five components are purchased and 33 are manufactured within the sector. Chemical industry workers did not wait for the center to start performing the functions of dispatcher but set up in conjunction with the agrochemical complex and the defense industry an association to coordinate everything and draw up all balances for the country, not fragmenting but reinforcing the unity of the chemical complex. In effect, no republic was capable of developing the power industry without coordinating efforts with other republics. Here a centralized structure was also needed.

"We are talking about establishing economic ties between independent states, that is, new-type ties," A. Azizbekov, chairman of Azerbaijan's Gossnab and member of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, explained in conversation with me. "Even when the center held up this process, we succeeded in reaching mutual understanding with other republics. We now have to switch resolutely from vertical to exclusively horizontal ties."

The fuel and energy complex is a headache for suppliers today. In the opinion of the meeting's participants, extreme measures will most likely be required in this sphere—recommendations, not directives.

Union, Republic Education Ministers Confer

PM1109151591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[By V. Gorshenin and I. Saltykov: "Both Together and Apart. What the Public Education Ministers Decided"]

[Text] The ministers of the former union republics yesterday debated about whether the education system should continue to exist regardless of any political collision or whether it should break up. We met G. Yagodin [chairman of the State Committee for Public Education] before the beginning of the debate.

Even before this there was no doubt about the republics' sovereignty on questions of education, Gennadiy Alekseyevich noted. The USSR State Committee for Public Education has recently been working as a collegium that includes all ministers. We resolve questions only by a general consensus, which also means new rules for admission to higher educational institutions that have been greeted with the fervent support of all society, and also profound reform in the teaching of social sciences and humanities. At this conference of ministers, we must seek advice on how to work in the new conditions when the Soviet state is essentially being transformed.

Concern about preserving a single educational space was expressed in all the speeches at the conference. If an economic union is formed in the future, then it would also be logical to expect intellectual cooperation.

It is up to the collegium of ministers to decide what form this administrative element will take; for example, according to Yagodin, a body for interrepublic cooperation can consist of no more than 40-50 people. Do the governments of the current sovereign republics, which will have to subsidize the activity of the new interrepublic body, agree with him? After all, as in our previous state, the education system is financed on the leftover principle there.

Union Interior Ministry, Estonia Sign Agreement

LD1309015991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1701 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—The Estonian Government and the USSR Interior Ministry signed an agreement here today on relations in the spheres of combating crime and social security. At the foundation of the document is the 6 September 1991 decision by the USSR State Council on the recognition of the Estonian Republic's independence. The agreement has determined mutual pledges for each side.

In particular, the Estonian Government becomes fully responsible for ensuring the protection of the rights and lawful interests and property of citizens and legal persons on the whole of the territory of the republic, while the USSR Interior Ministry pledges, within the limits of its competence, to ensure the protection of Estonian citizens and legal persons on the whole of the USSR's territory.

In the agreement great attention was paid to the possibility of referring without reimbursement to the all-union information databases, to the USSR Interior Ministry's crime detection records, and also to the records generated by experience in the organization of and strategy for combating crime and by the use of modern forms and methods and of scientific and technical means in detecting, preventing, and stopping crimes.

The agreement was signed by Viktor Barannikov, the USSR Interior Minister, and Edgar Savisaar, the prime minister of Estonia.

Accord To Last for 6 Months

LD1309022391 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] The BALTIC NEWS SERVICE reports that today at 1700 Edgar Savisaar, Estonian prime minister, and Viktor Barannikov, USSR minister of internal affairs, signed an agreement between the Estonian Government and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. According to the agreement—whose life-span is half a year, starting from the moment of signing—the sides will cooperate in combating crime, extraditing criminals, ensuring access to each other's archives and statistical data, assisting each other in the transportation sector, cadres, technical equipment, and so on. Apart from that, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs pledges to withdraw its convoy and other special forces from Estonian territory by 1 January 1992, while continuing to ensure material-technical supplies to the Estonian Ministry of Internal Affairs—according to a contract and for a fixed payment. Rights of the workers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have also been noted. The Estonian Government will pay pensions and finance the Ministry of Internal Affairs forces remaining on Estonian territory from the republican budget. For its part, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs will preserve the honorary titles, rights, and benefits of all the workers transferred from the Estonian Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Union Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Social Sciences Institute Becomes 'Think-Tank'

LD1209230191 Moscow TASS in English 1429 GMT 12 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party Institute of Social Sciences will be converted into a social and political studies fund under the Soviet president and the State Council, Russian state adviser Sergey Stankevich said on Thursday.

He is a member of the organising committee for transforming the institute into a "presidential think-tank".

The institute "has a huge intellectual potential and can effectively work in a new capacity," Yuriy Klimov, the institute director, said.

Klimov said the majority of 140 lecturers have "left, democratic views" and supported Boris Yeltsin during his election campaign.

The institute premises, except auxiliary services, are sealed. Some of its rooms have been leased to joint ventures and foreign firms for offices. There are 18 of them, including a Soviet-British hotel firm.

Stankevich said certain documents are being worked out, adding "this will be a compact structure".

Shevardnadze Joins World Leaders Organization

LD1209221291 Moscow TASS in English 0923 GMT 12 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kolesnichenko]

[Text] New York September 12 TASS—Former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who is now president of the Soviet Foreign Policy Association, has been included in a group of world leaders, led by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter.

The organisation also includes former Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, South African Bishop Desmond Tutu, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young, and former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

The creation of the organisation will change approaches to settling international conflicts, Carter said, commenting on Shevardnadze admission.

Lukyanov's Health Deteriorating 'Sharply'

LD1209133491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Anatoliy Lukyanov's health has deteriorated sharply, the former USSR Supreme Soviet chairman's wife told a TASS correspondent. He is in a USSR Internal Affairs Ministry hospital and remains in custody. He is having difficulty moving his left leg and arm.

Lukyanov continues to deny any guilt and considers his arrest illegal. His lawyer said the defense intends to reapply for his release from custody on health grounds.

Prison Conditions Described

LD1209151391 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—"Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov was transferred to hospital because his condition sharply deteriorated," Lyumila Dmitriyevna Lukyanova told TASS.

Lukyanov was transferred to hospital from detention center on September 11. A TASS correspondent met the wife of the former chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet following the first meeting Lukyanov and his family were allowed 12 days after his arrest.

"This began on the night of September 5 after a charge was brought against Anatoliy Ivanovich," Lukyanova said.

"On Saturday, September 7, Russia's Chief Prosecutor V. Stepankov and USSR Interior Minister V. Barannikov visited him in his cell. They showed interest why Lukyanov refused to give testimony. By a strange coincidence, the conditions in the detention ward have changed immeditately following this visit. Prison junk food began to be given to Anatoliy Ivanovich although earlier food was quite satisfatory. He was soon moved to hospital because he has trouble in moving his left arm and leg. These symptoms are regrettably increasing."

"What are the conditions in the hospital?"

"He was taken to the central hospital of the Interior Ministry but continues to be under guard."

"What, do you think, is the reason why Lukyanov refuses to give testimony to investigators? This can be interpreted as the refusal to obey the law."

"Anatoliy Ivanovich denies being guilty. Moreover, he regards the arrest itself and the way it was carried out as illegal. Therefore, he refuses to speak to people who are involved in this lawlessness."

The TASS correspondent also met lawyer Aleksandr Gofshtein who handles the Lukyanov case.

"As was already reported in the press, you have already approached the Public Prosecutor's Office with the request to change preventive custody for Lukyanov. What was the answer to this request?"

"The application was rejected. Apprehensions that my clent may attempt to flee somewhere can hardly be considered as well-grounded. I can say that the defence is going to file another application to release Lukyanov from detention on health grounds. As a defence attorney, I am denied any possibility to acquaint myself with the materials of the case, which, I add, is at odds with the Russian legislation. This means that the defence is denied any possibility to fulfil its functions in full and conscientiously."

Media & Journalism

Yakovlev Pledges 'Objectivity' in News

PM1209105991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Single Edition p 6

[Interview with Yegor Yakovlev, newly-appointed head of the All-Union Television and Radio Company, by Viktor Kozhemyako; place and date not given; first paragraph is introduction: "Three Questions for Yegor Yakovlev"]

[Text] There is no need to introduce this man to our readers. In our field of journalism he is one of those who, you might say, make the weather. Under his leadership the weekly MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI joined the list of the most popular publications. Now Yegor Yakovlev has become the head of the All-Union Television and Radio Broadcasting Company. I managed to talk with him in these initial days of his new work. So then, here are three questions for Yegor Yakovlev.

[Kozhemyako] What feelings are you experiencing now in connection with this high and responsible appointment?

[Yakovlev] Above all, the feeling of a sponge that is completely saturated. Every hour and every minute, such a quantity of information rains down on my head that it is extremely difficult to absorb and digest it.

But also there is a feeling of enormous interest—of a purely professional kind. The work is genuinely new to me, and my duties are in many ways new and unfamiliar. As the chief editor of a newspaper, I felt drawn into the process of creating it every day. In some areas there were censorship functions to fulfill. Now I no longer have to create directly, but evaluate.

What I would very much like to keep within myself is the feelings of a television viewer—something which, naturally, I have always had, just like the millions of others who are glued to the "box" every day. Today, of course, I have to properly understand this "box," this entire business from within. It would be good, however, to remain just a viewer as well. I do not know whether or not that is realistic. I know only that someone who is less involved is always more radical.

[Kozhemyako] What is the main goal that you set yourself on taking up your new post?

[Yakovlev] The main thing is objectivity, to provide the news objectively is so essential. After all, this is a problem which actually involves the security of society! Coming here, to television, I knew that some journalists had supported the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Then when I began to look into the matter in more detail, I found that this happened frequently because they possessed only one-sided information. They were fed information from only one source, which, as it turns out, can seriously lead people astray. I am not justifying these people but simply trying to understand them.

I began my work in the news branch. For all the importance of other programs, I see this as the priority area.

I ask myself: What should be the criteria for assessing the work of television? Who should assess it? I think it would be wrong to reduce everything to assessment by the TV journalists' collective. That is why I proposed a viewers' competition on the program which goes out at 2100 hours. This, I would say, is a formula for our future development. We intend to have greater recourse to the viewers' judgments in assessing other programs too. This approach, I think, will help us to fulfill our duty to the viewers better.

After all, what is democracy in our journalistic field? Many of my colleagues believe that it is the opportunity to do everything that you think proper. On the other hand, I think differently: It is the opportunity, the necessity, and the ability to respond to what the viewer or reader expects from us. Addressing one of the first meetings of the collective since I took over, I said: Yes, freedom is necessary, freedom not to carry out stupid orders, freedom not to do something base. Well, our output is a product like any other...

[Kozhemyako] What are your wishes for the reconfiguring PRAVDA?

[Yakovlev] The same as for the television: to be concerned in every way possible with news objectivity, and not to forget about decency.

Final KOMMUNIST Previews New Journal

PM1109094391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[F. Belelyubskiy report under the rubric: "Around the Country": "'SVOBODNAYA MYSL'?"]

[Text] The editorial collective of the journal KOMMUNIST has adopted a decision to found the journal SVOBODNAYA MYSL [FREE THOUGHT], an open forum for all democratic left-wing forces. The emphasis is on the word found, not rename.

Incidentally, the 13th and final issue of KOMMUNIST for 1991 has appeared containing a report on the new journal. The text of the final edition of KOMMUNIST went to press before the attempted coup d'etat. The editorial office did not find it necessary to be ashamed of the work it had done. Let the readers judge how justified were the assessments and predictions of KOMMUNIST's "final parade": "Crisis in the Party" by A. Vozmitel, "On the Imaginary Dangers of Social Democratization" by A. Galkin and Yu. Krasin, and "Ideas, Ideologies, and Movements" by A. Razumov.

I. Dedkov reflects on the Solzhenitsyn epic "The Red Wheel" ("Love? Hate? What Else?"). In the roundup "Ordzhonikidze—Kirov—Stalin" a group of historians have attempted to analyze, on the basis of new documents, the covert mechanisms of political life in the thirties.

The index number, size, and periodicity of the journal remain unchanged.

Paper's Greek Edition To Continue Publishing

PM1109151691 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 33, 18-25 Aug 91 p 2

[Letter from Georgiy Muradov, press attache at the Soviet Embassy in Athens: "News of MN [MOSCOW NEWS] Greek Edition's Demise Exaggerated by TASS: The USSR Embassy Puts the Record Straight"]

[Text] Dear MN [MOSCOW NEWS] editors:

TASS reporter in Athens V. Malyshev reported July 31 that MN would no longer be published in Greek allegedly for lack of reader interest.

As the Soviet Embassy Press Attache to Greece I must apologize to your weekly for this ridiculous and false report by the correspondent of our state news agency.

MN Greek edition's print runs were comparable with those of a number of Greek national newspapers, due to considerable interest among the readers in the historic changes taking place in the USSR. A number of major public and political figures of Greece contributed to the weekly, in particular to the special section called "The Greco-Soviet Chronicle." Greek scholars, researchers and journalists made use of MN material.

It is hope that the publication has been suspended only temporarily. The only reason for its interruption is financial difficulties faced by the publishers, MN was in no way responsible. New partners are being sought.

Thus V. Malyshev's haste in reporting of lack of Greek readers' interest in the newspaper and developments in the USSR can be explained by his personal bias against MN, rather than by his journalist competence.

[Signed] Georgiy Muradov, Soviet Embassy Press Attache to Greece

From the Editors: We believe the last sentence equally applies to Central TV, which so eagerly reported in one of its news programs the misinformation.

TASS Reviews 13 Sep Soviet Central Press

LD1309063591 Moscow TASS in English 0552 GMT 13 Sep 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 13 TASS—PRAVDA comments on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree on the powers of Moscow city executive authorities.

"This is probably a step towards new authoritarianism, the first, hardly noticeable flick of a personality cult," PRAVDA writes.

The newspaper carries a letter by several philosophers and historians (A. Butenko, P. Volobuev, V. Danilov and V. Kelle). "The political collapse of the Soviet Communist Party and its apparat does not mean that socialist ideas have died in our country. Undoubtedly, this is what many opponents of communism and socialism think. This is another illusion or self-deceit on their part," the letter says.

"In reality, a Stalinist model of socialist, party and statehood has been buried, and we hope it has been buried for good," it says.

"Socialism as an idea and a public movement cannot die," it says.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA comments on a letter by several Russian lawmakers to Boris Yeltsin, in which they complained that the Russian president exceeded his authority.

Russian writers gathered for an emergency congress in Moscow on Thursday, newspapers report. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reports the event in detail.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA writes about efforts to restore architectural monuments in Russia.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA interviews economist Prokopiy Drachev, recently elected vice-president of the Russian union of entrepreneurs and lease-holders. Drachev speaks about efforts to promote enterprise in the largest Soviet republic.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA comments on tensions in Moldova.

Newspapers carry interviews with the wives of Anatoliy Lukyanov and Gennadiy Yanayev.

TRUD interviews the commander with an elite KGB unit that refused to take orders from the coupsters.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA comments on occupational injuries at farms. Twice as many farmers die at work each year than in mines, it writes.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA carries extracts from Raisa Gorbachev's autobiography "I Hope".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA comments on Soviet foreign policy during the transition period.

PRAVDA comments on problems facing the Soviet Aeroflot carrier.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA interviews Soviet Pacific Fleet technical manager Captain First Rank Pavel Smirnov, who speaks on efforts to scrap submarines.

Newspapers report new tensions in the Chechen-Ingush Republic, where mass rallies against authorities have continued since August 22.

Economic

Highlights of Economic Union Treaty Presented

OW1309022391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0053 GMT 13 Sep 91

["Draft of Economic Union, Successor to the USSR"—INTERFAX headline; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] INTERFAX presents below the principle provisions of the Draft Treaty on the Economic Union for the former Soviet republics, most of which have already proclaimed themselves independent states.

GENERAL. Union members shall coordinate their policies in: business, movement of goods and services, monetary and banking systems, finances, taxation and prices; labour markets and social nets; customs regulation, foreign economic activities and hard currency regulation.

Former USSR members who are willing to assume only part of the responsibilities may receive associate status.

BANKING SYSTEM. The Union members shall set up a Banking Union that will comprise the republican central banks and be built on the model of a reserve system. The status of the Banking Union whose decisions will be binding on the members shall be defined in a separate agreement. Pending the establishment of the Banking Union, finances will be administered by the State Bank's board representing the central republican banks.

The ruble shall continue as the common money. Republican currencies are possible unless their introduction is harmful for the monetary system of the Economic Union.

The Banking Union shall formulate regulations as regards monetary reserves held by commercial banks, regulate the ruble rate and dispose of the Economic Union's gold and foreign-exchange reserves.

FINANCES AND TAXATION. Members of the Economic Union shall curtail the deficits of state budgets in an agreed manner. The tax systems shall be unified.

The Economic Union shall form a unified budget, including the setting up of a number of special funds. These will include a fund for servicing the internal debt and a fund for servicing the USSR's an the Economic Union's foreign debts. The budget shall be formed from contributions of the Union members that will be calculated as a fixed percentage of a member's national income.

PRICE POLICY. Price policies shall be geared to making a coordinated transition to free prices. Agreed-on price levels shall be set for a variety of items.

FOREIGN-EXCHANGE POLICY. FOREIGN TRADE. The Economic Union shall guarantee the USSR's foreign economic obligations. To make settlements with the republics refusing to sign the economic agreement, the USSR's entire foreign debt shall be divided among each member state of the former Soviet Union.

The Economic Union shall take out new loans subject to consent and approval of all its members. A Union member may take out loans in case it provides guarantees on its own.

Until the ruble is internally convertible, hard currency earnings shall be accumulated under control from the centre.

A Union member shall regulate its foreign economic activities on its own. Likewise, a Union member shall set export/import quotas and licensing rules, but within collectively agreed-on quotas. Common customs rules shall prevail.

The Union members shall agree on a collective membership in the IMF, the World Bank and GATT.

State Council To Draft Inter-Republic Agreement

OW1109122391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Next Monday the State Council is expected to work out a common draft of the economic agreement between the republics that belonged to the USSR. The document will mainly combine the plans of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy and Yevgeniy Saburov.

This was announced on Wednesday during the meeting of the Russian Economy Minister Yevgeniy Saburov and a spokesman for the Commission of European Communities Jean-Louis Cadieu.

According to IF's [INTERFAX] reporter, Yevgeniy Saburov said that the main issue now is the toughness of the banking system, specifically the organizational structure of the system. He also felt that the entire "ruble space" should have a common central bank. "The situation will be very grave if its decisions shall depend on the consensus of the republics. Financial systems should be absolutely independent of the state or states," the Russian minister stressed.

Saburov also said the steps that will be taken to reduce the country's budget deficit will include cuts in industrial and farming subsidies. He also spoke for a serious revision of the general taxing system.

The EC official told the Russian side that during two months beginning this week Russia and the Union will get 7,000 carloads of food in the framework of humanitarian aid.

Central Bank Leaders Meet on Monetary Policy

LD1309092991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0000 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Text] A conference of central bank leaders of sovereign states, which use the ruble as a monetary unit in their territories, has taken place at the USSR State Bank in Moscow. Central banks declared their intention to adhere to a coordinated credit and monetary policy within the framework of the ruble circulation zone. The sides do not intend to stop one another from introducing national currencies in their territories or from adopting other measures dictated by the economic interests of republics. However, the mutual obligations arising from this should be regulated in a coordinated manner by sovereign states. For the purpose of carrying out a coordinated policy, the central banks deem it necessary to set up a coordinating body which enjoys trust of sovereign states. The legal status of and the mechanism for forming this body can be determined by a special interbank agreement. An accord has been reached on starting work on such a draft agreement.

Ukraine Official on Agreements With Union

LD1209175491 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Ukraine must reconsider its commitments in fulfilling the temporary economic agreements for the current year signed by the republics with the former Union government bodies. This was declared today by Leonid (?Korniyenko), member of Ukraine's government, to a representative of the apparatus of the USSR president. Leonid (?Korniyenko) arrived in Moscow for talks pertaining to the extremely unsatisfactory state of material and technical supplies to Ukraine on the part of the Union ministries and organizations. The disruption of these deliveries is being observed in practice and this inflicts great losses to Ukraine's economy, stressed Leonid (?Korniyenko).

State Statistics Committee on Production, Prices

LD1109172391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] The country and state are almost new, but the problems are old. That, perhaps, is how the events currently taking place in our society could be briefly described. The saddest confirmation of this is provided by information from the USSR State Committee for Statistics.

The volume of industrial production fell by 8 percent in August compared with the same period last year, despite Pavlov's assurances about stabilizing the situation. The output of at least 117 kinds of production declined: petroleum extraction was reduced, as were the output of consumer goods and items from light industry, and food production fell by over 8 percent. Yet prices in the food industry since 1 July have rocketed by 126 points, rising 338 percent compared to August last year. Output from light industry had a price increase of 310 percent. Currently, 45 percent of industrial output is being realized in accordance with contract prices, which, of course, affects the rise in prices. Such is the result of the activities of the governments of Ryzhkov and Pavlov.

Officials Deny Report of Secret Bullion Sales

PM1209141991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3

[Report by TASS correspondents Aleksandr Markov and Gennadiy Temnenkov under the rubric "From the Rumor Mill": "Invisible Gold"]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep—Citing anonymous major representatives of financial circles, Britain's THE GUARDIAN has reported that gold valued at $4 billion has been secretly exported from the USSR. The article also talks of the possible involvement of top party, KGB, and army officials in this "unofficial gold drain."

Your TASS correspondents asked representatives from the USSR Gosbank [State Bank], Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity], Finance Ministry, Defense Ministry, and KGB to comment on this report.

V. Gerashchenko, chairman of the USSR Gosbank:

"This information is based on rumor. It has been known for gold to be sold to swell the state's hard currency reserves. But this is only done in extreme cases—for example, when major grain purchases from abroad are imminent. But all such transactions are effected under our strict control. The system is such that only microscopic quantities of gold dust could feasibly be exported secretly. But gold bullion... sorry, no way."

A. Rastvorova, deputy chief of the USSR Finance Ministry Precious Metals Administration Finance and Planning Department:

"The uncontrolled export of that amount of gold from the country is impossible. If, as THE GUARDIAN claims, such operations had been going on since the spring, the Finance Ministry leadership would know. I am convinced that all this will ultimately turn out to be nothing more than another canard."

E. Gostev, deputy chairman of the USSR Vneshekonombank Board:

"All USSR Vneshekonombank operations are conducted on a legal basis and confirmed by the USSR Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy. THE GUARDIAN report probably appeared to provoke a sensation."

G. Kashuba, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Press Bureau:

"I am convinced that this is untrue and is yet another fabrication. The Defense Ministry has not taken any action in this direction. Our department in general has nothing to do with USSR gold reserves or gold trade. Elementary logic suggests that such claims are absurd."

A representative of the USSR KGB Public Relations Center, who asked to remain anonymous:

"There is a concept known as the 'battle of special services.' THE GUARDIAN's claims are another attempt to exacerbate the domestic political situation in our country, like, for example, the earlier accusations by Western media of KGB involvement with drugs, mafia and terrorism. Such 'rumors' always emerge at the most complex moments in our state's development."

STOP PRESS

London—The piece in THE GUARDIAN about secret gold exports from the USSR is not false, said Dan Atkinson, one of the article's authors and a staffer of the newspaper's financial and economic section, whom a TASS correspondent asked to comment on Soviet officials' reaction to this report.

"The article is based on information received from high ranking representatives of the world gold industry whose commercial interests necessitate that they promptly receive accurate information about anomalous bullion movements."

Agricultural

Food Supply Prospects Seen as 'Ominous'

914A1186B Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 2

[Article by V. Ukolov: "Will the Gaunt Hand of Famine Seize Us By the Throat?"]

[Text] **The letters and telephone calls to the editorial board are full of alarm: What is the fate of the harvest? What awaits people in the winter—a struggle for survival? The goal of this survey is to answer your questions.**

The reports from the local level are not cause for joy. This is what our correspondent Nikolay Kutorgin tells us from Omsk.

The usual line of vehicles with grain is not at the Kirovsk-Omsk grain elevator. The weighing houses are empty.

The drought has had its effect: Everywhere they are getting three to four quintals per hectare instead of the anticipated 17. In addition, the tight-fisted farms are not in a hurry to turn over and sell their excess.

At a recent special session of the oblast soviet N. Yusnikov, chairman of the oblast Agro-industrial Committee and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputy, confirmed the rumors: "Yes, an organizational committee for a strike by the peasants is being created. And I will not be standing on the sidelines."

The prospects are ominous. Why are our people so unfortunate: Is each generation obliged to undergo not only fire and water but also famine?

Yu. Mordvintsev, first deputy minister of agriculture and food of the USSR, will be able to answer this. He agreed to respond to the questions of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA.

[Ukolov] Yuriy Ivanovich, you were born in 1938. That means that you survived the postwar famine. Do you remember it?

[Mordvintsev] I will always remember it. We were lucky that we lived on the land, in Volgograd Oblast. Our cow, Manka, saved my little brother and me and my whole family. My mother baked bread—it was made half from bran.

[Ukolov] My little brother died. Give it to me straight: What is to come?

[Mordvintsev] I will reveal all my cards. At present the grain has been mowed on 75.5 million hectares (74 percent of the fields that were sown), and 71 million hectares of grain have been threshed. We have already harvested 130 million tonnes of grain. The average yield is 18.2 quintals per hectare.

Is that a lot or a little? It is at the level of 1988. That means it is quite sufficient to feed the population. The state needs to purchase 100 million tonnes of food crops. Including more than 80 million tonnes of wheat. But so far we have only received 29.1 at the elevators. And this is where the problem lies. The peasant is not selling the grain to the state. He has crossed out the "first commandment."

But I would suggest to anyone who demands that the peasant show "consciousness" that he should walk in his shoes. He himself cannot buy anything for his money—neither equipment, nor construction materials, nor goods. People insist that he must pay for goods with his product, but instead of barter all he gets is defrauded.

It would seem that all he has to do is dip into the stores of equipment that have been allotted him. Impossible! Since the beginning of the year industry owes the peasant 50,000 tractors, 8,000 cargo vehicles, 3,000 forage harvesters, and 15,000 plows. Plus 423,000 tonnes of gasoline and 866,000 tonnes of diesel fuel.

Contractual obligations are nothing but paper inasmuch as there are no strict fines stipulated for either side. There is no economic stimulus or accountability between partners—hence all the gaps.

This situation is splendidly illustrated by a report from our correspondent Yuriy Kirinitsiyanov from Alma- Ata.

In Pavlodar Oblast works a genuine master of his trade, P. Leontyev. Last year he grew an excellent crop of buckwheat. He settled accounts with the sovkhoz, provided the people of his town with buckwheat cereal, and then decided to exchange a portion of his output for pipes. And that was the problem: The factory that produces them is located in Moscow. The railway cars, prepared for dispatch, were "impounded."

And V. Garyagin, his colleague from Taldy-Kurgan Oblast, has lost heart. They allotted him land, and he sowed it with wheat. He cared for the crops without sparing himself. The harvest was magnificent. But apparently the director of the sovkhoz did not want any unfavorable comparisons made. Almost on a whim, he "dispossessed" the private farmer.

S. Dzhandosov, president of the Association of Peasant Farms, Leaseholdings, and Agricultural Cooperatives, has many such examples.

For all practical purposes the old administrative structures have been preserved in the republic. Gosagroprom [State Agro-industrial Committee] has been reanimated under the guise of the Ministry of Agriculture. "Valuable" instructions continue to fly from the center as before, and the private farms of the republic provide only three percent of the total volume of agricultural output.

Let us sum up our survey. Apparently the administrative-bureaucratic system continues to weigh on the peasant. We only call upon him to take the land and to become its master. But what is he really to do when he has only a pitchfork and a shovel at his disposal? Equipment and someone to service it are needed.

Today it is possible to create new cooperatives and introduce leasing relations within the framework of the kolkhoz. That is an improvement.

[Ukolov] And a last question: Are you personally stocking up on supplies?

[Mordvintsev] No. And I do not advise you to. In Russia, at any case, the authorities are strong. They will not allow the people to starve.

Late August Weather, Crop Conditions Detailed

914A1152A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 5 Sep 91 p 2

[Article by agricultural meteorologist A. Grishina, : "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] Cool weather predominated over much of the European territory of the country during the last 10 days of August. Southwest of the Vilnius-Yoshkar-Ola-Samara-Saratov line, the average air temperature for the 10-day period was one to two degrees lower than the annual average and three degrees lower in a number of central and eastern regions of the Ukraine. In the rest of the regions it was close to or somewhat above that level.

The greatest quantity of precipitation (31-70 mm and more) fell in a number of southwestern, central, and eastern regions of the Ukraine, on a large part of the Central-Chernozem and Volga regions, in the southeastern half of the Central region, in places in Lithuania, and in the western Urals region. Conditions for conducting harvest efforts and sowing winter crops were unfavorable there. On the other hand, insignificant quantities of rain (less than 10 mm) fell in the extreme southern Ukraine, the Lower Volga region, and in the southeast Ukrainian region, harvest efforts were not held up.

Over most of the territory of the Northern, Volga-Vyatka, and Urals regions, in the northern half of the Volga region, and in the eastern Central region winter grain crops sown in the first half of August began to sprout. Crops that had been planted later were at the stage of producing shoots and the third leaf. The supply of moisture for the winter crops is sufficient (for the most part the topsoil contained 30-40 mm of productive moisture). The condition of the crops is good.

On the sugar beet plantations, intensive growth of that root crop continued. Because of predominantly cloudy weather, conditions for the accumulation of sugars in the majority of the regions of the beet-growing zone were fair.

On the European territory of the USSR, the growth of potato tubers took place in rainy weather. The development and spread of phytophthora intensified, which has lead to the premature withering of the haulm and a halt in the growth of the tubers. Damage to the potatoes by other diseases and pests has increased.

In Western Siberia and in northern Kazakhstan, there was moderately warm weather. Over the majority of the territory there was little precipitation. Conditions for conducting harvest efforts improved and the winter grain crops on the main fields were at the stage of producing shoots and the third leaf.

Rain fell over the majority of the agricultural regions of Eastern Siberia and the Far East.

In the republics of Central Asia and in southern Kazakhstan, warm and dry weather predominated, which was favorable for the formation and opening of cotton bolls. As of 31 August the general quantity of formed bolls over the majority of the territory was 7.5-10.9 (average per plant), which is less than for last year. In Surkhan-Darya, Mary, Chardzhou, and Ashkhabad Oblasts, 11-15 bolls had formed. By the end of the month an average of one to three bolls per plant had opened up over the majority of the territory and three to five in the southern oblasts. Selective picking of the raw cotton began in the USSR. They also commenced that same work in Azerbaijan.

Military

Union, Republic Officials Discuss Military Reform

PM1109092491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[IZVESTIYA military correspondent V. Litovkin report: "Marshal Shaposhnikov Presents His Concept of Military Reform"]

[Text] Mutual consultations between the USSR Defense Ministry leadership and representatives of the 15 sovereign republics on the formulation of approaches to the radical transformation of the Army and Navy began 10 September. What form does it take, this renewed military policy from the Defense Ministry building on Arbat Square?

The main thing is that the Union Armed Forces must remain the only armed forces, and there can only be a single, centralized management of strategic nuclear weapons. But the concept of military reform demands substantial adjustments.

A State Commission is now being set up under the USSR president to formulate this concept. The commission will include representatives of all the republics and scientists. Their proposals will form the basis of the new Soviet military policy, on which the Defense Ministry already has its own view.

Various options are possible here. One of them provides for the creation of a system of Union defense organs, each of which will be headed by the supreme commander in chief—the president of the Union state. Such an organ would have two levels. The first has military-political functions, and includes Union and republic ministries of defense as purely civilian departments.

These will formulate and put into practice a military, military-technical, budgetary, and cadre policy that is agreed among themselves, and will order and buy weapons and combat equipment, train reserves, develop military infrastructures, and tackle the military's social and other problems.

A republic Defense Ministry could have armed formations under its jurisdiction in the form of a national or republic guard, and in the event of war these formations would form part of the unified Armed Forces.

The second level is purely military. In the Union, this means the united Armed Forces Main Command and the General Staff. Their task is the operational management and leadership of troops, the planning of the use of troops, operational and military training, the moral, psychological, and military education of personnel, and other tasks. Including that of defining requirements for arms, equipment, and military property.

At the republic level, it means the commander of troops on the republic's territory, who is appointed by the president of the country by agreement with the president of the republic. A plenipotentiary representative of the republic government would work at the commander's headquarters, with his own apparatus (10-15 people), and he would form part of the military collegium under the commander in chief [pri glavkomate].

The functioning of this system would be possible only on the basis of agreements between republics and the Union state, enshrined in legislation. It is planned to put the Army and Navy on a professional footing, but for the time being to retain the principle of mixed manning, reducing the proportion of servicemen on compulsory service year by year. Compulsory service will be reduced to 18 months. Students will not be drafted.

In short, there are many proposals. They all require separate discussion and the resolution of many problems. Including problems of everyday life and financial problems. The main thing that emerged in the course of the defense minister's meeting with representatives of the sovereign republics was the desire to work jointly to create a new Army. And that inspires hope.

Ukranian Defense Minister on Meeting

LD1109165691 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] A meeting took place today in Moscow between USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov and leaders of similar departments of the republics of the country. At the center of attention were the upcoming reforms in the military structures of the Soviet Union. During the current transitional period, the realization of this measure will be placed on a special committee under the national State Council made up of representatives of republics and participants in the joint defense strategic union.

Ukranian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov confirmed the adherence of our republic to such a system of collective defense but singled out that the Ukraine calls for a non-nuclear status on its territory. He also believes it necessary to create Ukraine's own national army.

Soviet Defense Minister Reshuffles Navy Command

OW1209145691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A ranking officer of the USSR Defense Ministry has told IF [INTERFAX] that Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov has ordered a reshuffle within the top command of the Soviet Navy.

Former deputy commander of the North Fleet, Vice-Admiral Kasatonov replaced Admiral Khronopulo as the Black Sea Fleet commander. Admiral Ivanov, commander of the Baltic Fleet, was replaced, but the post is still vacant.

Chernavin Discusses Baltic Fleet Operations

LD1209145391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1314 GMT 12 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Danilin]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)—"The Baltic Fleet will not cease to exist, but the independence of the Baltic republics will have a most considerable effect upon its operational efficiency, combat readiness, and day-to-day operation," thinks Admiral Vladimir Chernavin, USSR Navy commander in chief. Answering a TASS correspondent on reforming naval structures, he stressed that it is up to the politicians and empowered government bodies to determine the fate of the Baltic Fleet and, indeed, the Armed Forces as a whole in this region. "We can only provide recommendations from a professional military standpoint," the admiral noted. "The Baltic Fleet's fate must be decided at talks at the appropriate state level, not in haste and on the basis of the long-term interests of both the Baltic republics and the Armed Forces, which remain one for the union. Otherwise, the threat of damage to the country's defense interests will inevitably arise."

The admiral expressed his confidence that the single economic space, which Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have already said was expedient, would also imply the unity of military-political interests. Therefore, it is not in the interests of the Baltic peoples to destroy what we now have. It is quite another thing to say that some kinds of adjustments are needed on this matter.

The admiral went on to say that naval departyization is complete. It is difficult to resettle those who were connected with working in the party structures. Matters relating to the upbringing and moral- psychological training of the personnel are being made part of the military training of the Navy and the fleets accordingly.

Lobov Discusses Defense Forces Restructuring

LD1109095391 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Announcer-read report on interview with General Lobov, chief of staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, by unidentified correspondent; place and date of interview not given; Lobov's remarks recorded in Russian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] [Announcer] After its involvement in the abortive coup in the Soviet Union last month, the Army's role in the country's life is a hotly debated issue. The army has now been depoliticized and party structures banished from the Armed Forces as part of the emerging military reform. The Soviet chief of staff, General Lobov, explains what other measures can be expected to follow:

[Lobov] The general said the reform of the Armed Forces was part of the country's military reform and, as such, is the job of the Soviet leadership. He said a military reform committee had now been set up under President Gorbachev, having the aim of creating armed forces which would provide adequate defenses without being burdensome to the taxpayer.

[Announcer] Is there any chance of the Army holding together now that the union is on the change and the republics have become sovereign states? Gen. Lobov again:

[Lobov] None of the republics will be able to survive without a single economic entity, says the general, but this raises the need for a single defense entity as well, and the Army's role in it is to be defined by a new treaty of the union. Gen. Lobov said there was general understanding of the need for uniform Armed Forces, with the center being in charge of Soviet nuclear weapons.

[Announcer] On civilian control of the army, Gen. Lobov said options were many:

[Lobov] In the general's view, a final decision must be taken after thorough scrutiny, analysis, and the cost involved for the upkeep of manpower and military hardware. [sentence as heard] One option, he suggests, is that, as commander in chief, the president must have a grip on the Army two ways. One is through the cabinet of ministers, with the defense minister being a civilian. His ministry, also made up of civilians, is in charge of military policies, defense related industries, conscription, mobilization, logistics, and army engineering. The other one is through the military themselves, who will be solely in charge of combat and operational training of troops. To coordinate efforts by the civilian and military tiers, the Defense Ministry and the general staff must have their own representatives in each other's offices. This will provide the president with a dual leverage of the Army to minimize errors.

[Announcer] On Soviet troop withdrawals from other countries, Gen. Lobov said these were going on as scheduled:

[Lobov] (?However), the general said, shortage of housing and barracks for the redeployment of returning troops was the main headache at the moment, but all other things were going on all right without undue haste and strictly in line with the papers endorsed. Gen. Lobov gave reassurances that there will be no (?veering) of the agreed line.

Shaposhnikov Grateful for Popov Appraisal of Army

LD0709051891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] USSR Minister of Defense Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov has sent a letter to Moscow Mayor Gavril Popov and Deputy Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov in which he expresses gratitude for their high appraisal of the role of the USSR Armed Forces, which, in the difficult days of August, remained loyal to their military oath, military duty, and the Constitution. At the difficult time after the coup attempt was stopped, you firmly and with principle defended the honor and dignity of soldiers and officers, the letter says. Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov assesses highly the contribution of Muscovites in eliminating the coup d'etat. This assures that the USSR Ministry of Defense leadership can be prepared to give the capital any possible help.

Shaposhnikov Questioned on Nuclear Testing

91WC0164A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 5 Sep 91 p 3

[Article by S. Doronin, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA military observer, under the rubric "Passions Around the Military": "From a Sick Head of Government—to Warheads?!"]

[Text] Expounding his views on the future of the strategic nuclear forces at the special session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, minister of defense, put special emphasis on the problem of the continuation of testing of nuclear weapons. "We cannot refrain completely from testing," he stressed.

Why not? Military and nuclear science specialists, whose professional interests are dictated by one consideration—the interests of the defense capability of the state, have not asked themselves this question for 42 years. In the meantime the activists of "Nevada—Semipalatinsk," the Soviet antinuclear movement, completely reject the idea of testing. It seems that their position, which was a purely propagandistic one only recently, is being reinforced by legislative measures. President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev has come out decisively against the use of the Semipalatinsk proving ground. He has issued the appropriate ukase. President of Russia B. Yeltsin has also called for a ban on testing at Novaya Zemlya for reasons of an ecological nature. The operations of the reserve range in Yakutiya will be another problem. The center will have to contend with the sovereignty of Yakutiya.

What position does the American side take on the question of nuclear proving grounds? During meetings with members of the Soviet parliament in October of last year in Moscow, U.S. Secretary of Defense R. Cheney declared unambiguously: Tests are necessary not only to improve weapons but also to increase their security. The nuclear inventory of the United States is much more secure today that it was 15 years ago because they have been working on it all that time.

On that issue, to be candid, we are beginning to fall behind. This is the first conclusion which results from an analysis of the rapidly changing situation in the country.

And what is happening today with our strategic nuclear forces? Subordinate to the center in the person of the president and the minister of defense, after the seizure of the system for activating the nuclear weapons and the basic and companion codes the world was kept in terrible suspense for three days. Is it necessary to say what kind of enormous gap Yanayev and company tried to make in the world system of nuclear security? And what kind of responsibility lay on the shoulders of the generals and officers of the general staffs of the branches of the Armed Forces which are armed with strategic and tactical nuclear weapons, doing everything they could to ensure that the irreparable did not happen.

Thank God, those troubled days are over. But the anxiety concerning the future of the nuclear weapons has not been dispelled. What does their future look like on the territories of those sovereign republics where they are located? Should they be removed? Or should the right of control over them be given to the localities in addition to the center? In any event A. Rutskoy, vice president of Russia, expressed just such a thought on 26 August: Yeltsin should possess the right of control over these weapons along with Gorbachev.

Strategic nuclear forces are stationed in Kazakhstan and the Ukraine... And what should happen to tactical nuclear weapons in units of the military districts—in the republics of the Baltics, Central Asia, and Belorussia? One can only presume that politicians will nonetheless refrain from unilateral decisions on military and strategic issues. Agreements concluded between Russia, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan offer hope.

There is no choice. According to experts on the problem—academicians and military men—nuclear forces should remain in the hands of the center. If, of course, the center remains whole. The strategic inventory is not a box of matches that has fallen behind the kitchen table. It must be preserved and it must be checked by means of testing. Because even games with matches end badly...

Shaposhnikov Meets With Tajik Deputies

PM0609100591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Uvatenko report: "Meeting at USSR Defense Ministry"]

[Text] On 3 September Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense, met with a large group of people's deputies from Tajikistan. He spoke about the prospects for radically reforming the Armed Forces and improving service conditions for Army and Navy personnel and about the measures which the leadership of the USSR Ministry of Defense is taking to strengthen legal and social protection for servicemen and their families.

Ways to activate joint efforts by organs of military management, the command of units and combined units, and representatives of state organs and public organizations in the republic to prepare young people for Army service, to develop living ties between military and labor collectives, to eliminate shortcomings in the organization of the personnel's life and daily routine, and to strengthen military discipline were discussed in a trusting conversation.

General Grachev on Activity During Coup

PM0609103591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 91 Union Edition p 8

[Interview with Colonel General Pavel Grachev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic State Committee for Defense and Security, by N. Burbyga; date and place not specified: "To Yeltsin's Phone Call General Grachev Replied: We Are on the Side of Russia"]

[Text] Colonel General Pavel Grachev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Committee for Defense and Security, has been appointed USSR first deputy defense minister.

The following is from IZVESTIYA's file: Pavel Grachev was born in 1948 in the village of Rvy in Tula Oblast and is Russian. He graduated from the M. Frunze Military Academy and the General Staff Military Academy. He served in Afghanistan and was awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union. Before being appointed first deputy USSR defense minister he was an Airborne Landing Troops commander. During the days of the attempted coup d'etat Grachev took a firm line in opposition to the decisions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE].

[Burbyga] Pavel Sergeyevich, when did you find out that legal power in the country was being transferred to the so-called State Committee for the State of Emeregency [SCSE]?

[Grachev] They tried to instill idea that M. Gorbachev was ill, that he was apparently handing over leadership of the country to Vice President Yanayev, and that if the people become agitated a state of emergency would be introduced back on 18 August.

[Burbyga] Who did?

[Grachev] Defense Minister Yazov... On the morning of 19 August Boris Nikolayevich phoned me and asked: "What is going on?" I told him all that I knew, that Mikhail Sergeyevich was ill, and that Yanayev was now performing his duties. Yeltsin cursed and said: "This is a provocation." And he asked: "Will you send your men out to provide protection?" I said: "Yes." I soon sent General Lebed to the White House.

[Burbyga] How were the preparations for the storming of the Russian parliament building conducted and what role in this was assigned to the Airborne Landing Troops?

[Grachev] Between 1400 and 1500 on 20 August there was a conference in the office of General Achalov, USSR deputy defense minister for emergency situations. Generals Varennikov, Kalinin, and Karpuhkin were there along with a large number of civilians whom I did not know. The atmosphere was tense... They said: The Russian Government has come out against the SCSE, talks with it have led to nothing... It is necessary to get recognition. A task was set: To cordon off the parliament building. I was told—deploy the airborne landing troops in the U.S. Embassy area. Interior Ministry [MVD] troops have been stationed on Kutuzovskiy Avenue, and the "Alpha" special subunit is on the embankment. The plan was this: The MVD would force back people back from the parliament building, the "Alpha" subunit would enter through that channel and storm the building.

[Burbyga] Incidentally, what did Gen. Karpukhin, the "Alpha" commander, do during the conference?

[Grachev] There was no activity from him. In my view he was even passive and depressed. The night before the storming of the parliament he telephoned me. There were two hours left before the assault. He said: "I am trying to call my chiefs but there is no reply." "Where are you?" I asked him. "I am 2 km from the Russian parliament building. I have assessed the situation and come to a decision..." He fell silent. Then he went on: "I am not going to take part in the attack." "Thank you," I said. "My men are not on Moscow territory either. And I am not going to advance..."

The conversation took place in the presence of my deputies.

[Burbyga] But Karpuhkin's former subordinates have already reported that their commander was ready to carry out the order and that they held a conference after which they decided to take no further part in the measures which the SCSE was planning...

[Grachev] I know of that statement, too. I think that Karpukhin was in a more difficult position than his subordinates. After all, he could not tell them about everything straight away. He would have been ousted, replaced by a keener or more compliant man. That would have been the end.

[Burbyga] What did the then Minister Yazov do during these days?

[Grachev] I would have called his conduct very cultured. He contacted me several times. He asked me to see him. He asked how I was. He even called me Pasha, which he had not done before. But he did not take part when it came to organizing tasks.

[Burbyga] When was the attack scheduled?

[Grachev] The advance was timed for midnight 20 August. The storming was to take place at 0300. There is nothing surprising about that, is there? Long before the storming of the building all the SCSE members suddenly fell asleep. At midnight we stopped the assault troop advance. An hour passed but no one phoned. My deputies joked: Clearly they are sleeping peacefully in their beds having set us up yet again, hoping that we will start the bloodbath.

I telephoned General Gromov. I had been in constant contact with him before and I knew that he was hostile to the self-appointed leaders. I told him about my conversation with Karpukhin. I asked what the MVD was doing. His reply was brief: "Holding position. And they will not go anywhere."

After that I realized that the SCSE had not achieved anything and would never achieve anything.

[Burbyga] From the defenders of the White House I heard criticisms of the airborne landing troops who, despite the requests to wait a while near the White House, left their positions, thereby abandoning those people to the whim of fate.

[Grachev] If you had noticed, the airborne landing troops were on maneuvers throughout those days. I am sure that the phone was being tapped during my conversation with Yeltsin. My deputy, Gen. Lebed, was also under suspicion. That is why all our actions seemed outwardly like a chess match. For example, Yazov demanded that the Bolgradskaya Division be transferred to Moscow. I talked it over with Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov and he advised me to bide my time. Ostensibly because of the weather we did not give the command to take off. But the minister was putting the pressure on. I ordered the regiments to land randomly at 10-minute intervals at two airfields. After which it took a long time to assemble them. Then I ordered one of the regiments to march to the Koltsevaya Road and not to move a muscle.

An hour later the division commander rang me. He reported that some people's deputies had come and asked what was to be done? I said: "Reassure them. Tell them that we are not going to enter Moscow..."

[Burbyga] Pavel Sergeyevich, how did it come about that the Vitebskaya special airborne division was transferred to the USSR KGB?

[Grachev] That division plus two motorized rifle divisions and one motorized rifle brigade were transferred to the KGB. The reason given for this at the time was the possibility of border incursions and interethnic conflicts. Officers received this decision with indignation. They came out with the slogan: "The Airborne Landing Troops will never belong to the KGB." Over 150 officers refused to serve in the KGB and were transferred to other units. They were worked on for a long time. They were allowed to keep their rank. They had their pay and other benefits increased... Incidentally, this division was not called up by the SCSE. It stayed in place. Evidently the putschists lacked confidence in its "trustworthiness." Now it is going back to the Airborne Landing Troops, which has been received by personnel with pleasure.

[Burbyga] One last question: What duties will you have to perform in your new post as chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Defense and Security?

[Grachev] Briefly, the sphere of my official duties will include questions ranging from the shaping of military policy to enlisted men's food.

Submarine Officer Resigns After Disobeying Junta

PM1109170591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 2

[Report by own correspondent Nikolay Belly: "There Was a Senior Watch Officer"]

[Text] Vladivostok—There was a senior watch officer, but he has gone ashore forever. Captain-Lieutenant Medvedev, a senior watch officer on a Pacific Fleet combat submarine, I was told at the fleet headquarters, has handed in his resignation into the reserve. It has been accepted. There is one fewer submariner in the Pacific Fleet...

The fact might be commonplace were it not that it has a bearing on the emergency which took place in the powerful Far Eastern fleet on one night of the August putsch. During the coup, when the formidable orders of Defense Minister Yazov were going to all fleets and flotillas, there was in the remote fleet a senior watch officer who rescinded those orders as criminal on his submarine. Without the permission of higher-ranking officers Medvedev gave the order to cast off and set to sea immediately. The isolated boat, without its basic ammunition load and without a full crew, looked like the flying Dutchman. Nonetheless the sailors decided to hold out and first set their course for Russkiy island, near Vladivostok.

And now the case of the "rebellious senior watch officer," seemingly to the satisfaction of the fleet leadership, has apparently resolved itself. On the one hand, I was told at the headquarters, the captain-lieutenant had committed an official crime by deciding of his own accord to take the torpedo-carrier out on a voyage. Here they added that this was done with violations of the harbormaster service rules, that at the time of the emergency departure there was on board only the daily watch—just 15 men—while the officers, warrant officers, and bulk of the personnel were absent. On the other hand Medvedev's ship was the fleet's only combat unit to openly disobey the plotters and also openly to side with the legal authorities and the Russian president.

"Medvedev wrote his resignation himself and was not subjected to any persecution," L. Pavlov, a senior officer at the fleet headquarters, said in reply to my questions. "He has decided and that is his right. As for the 15 men who went to sea with him, here there can be no varied interpretations. The situation was not a standard one, the sailors carried out the commander's order."

Crewmen Discuss Submarine Flight

91SV0060A Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Sep 91 p 3

[Article by Major V. Korolyuk, BOYEVAYA VAKHTA correspondent, under the rubric "Details Given": "'We Are Authorized To Use Weapons'—This Signal Was sent to a Submarine Which Put Out to Sea on Its Own During the Anxious Days of August"]

[Text] **"The editorial office has learned from reliable sources that on the night of 20 to 21 August, Captain Lieutenant Medvedev, executive officer of a submarine, took it out to sea without authorization. This happened immediately after an interview which the plotters gave..."**

"The desperate officer...stated on the radio that he would not go back to the base until the USSR president was released and the former order restored.

"...Official structures are maintaining complete silence and investigating."

(From the newspapers dated 24 August 1991)

ANDREY MEDVEDEV, 30, a 1987 graduate of the naval school, categorically refused to talk to the representatives of the press. While serving time at the guardhouse, he told me:

"The reason I am here is consuming booze while on duty. The submarine putting out to sea has nothing to do with my arrest, and this is why I am not going to discuss it."

SERGEY KRAVTSOV, 23, warrant officer, with the navy since 1985, senior in charge of steering signalmen. Boatswain. Warrant officer in charge on the vessel that morning:

[Kravtsov] I was awakened by the watch of the central station at 0530 on 22 August (according to instructions, I can rest until 0600 while on duty, too), and told that the executive officer wanted to see me. I came out to the pier and reported as supposed to: No incidents had occurred. He said: "Let us get going urgently, we are heading for neutral waters." Being half awake, I did not think straight. The executive officer told us later that the crew had watched TV until 0300, but nothing was clear by then. They had seen enough. The SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] was beginning "to fret and fume," and Yeltsin alone stood against them. Three divisions were on his side, and we also needed to come out in support, to cast away and say that we were also his guys, that there were heroes in the Pacific Fleet as well!

We did not succeed in cranking up the gyrocompass. We navigated visually. Later, they sent a message from a minesweeper which was dispatched to chase us: "We order you to stop. We are authorized to use weapons." After all, nobody knew then what kind of submarine it was and where it was sailing. The executive officer responded to them on the radio: "I demand to meet the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president or vice president. Otherwise, if my demands are not met, we threaten to sink the vessel."

[Korolyuk] Did Medvedev discuss the sinking with the crew in any way?

[Kravtsov] No. This was his threat to the minesweeper. A hunger strike was approved in principle. They said that there was nothing to eat on the submarine anyway, and they could go for a hunger strike too. We unloaded foodstuffs and combat supplies on hand before repairs began. We had a few dry rations with us—the remainders of the evening tea, and then only for the watch crew. Meanwhile, the executive officer brought seven more sailors with him.

[Korolyuk] What happened next?

[Kravtsov] We drifted. Subsequently, several more vessels approached us, lined around us in a horseshoe, and barred our exit to the sea. The commander's motor launch came, with Vice Admiral Oleynik on board, and a torpedo retriever with the submarine commander, brigade commander, and chief of the political department. They brought a radio set and began to persuade us that everything was normal in the country. We went back: There were songs and music on Mayak...

I cannot understand myself why the hell we put out. Had all of this happened at least one day sooner...

[Korolyuk] Was the executive officer sober during this sortie?

[Kravtsov] How should I put it? Not exactly.

[Korolyuk] Did you try holding him back?

[Kravtsov] There was no holding him back... Besides, I did not consider it to be that serious. I thought that we would move from the plant to the base, and that would be it. I failed to quite appreciate the situation. After all, we, the watch crew, had been aboard the vessel since 1900 the previous day. We had no information at all: The radio was not working, and there was no TV.

[Korolyuk] Did everybody sail out voluntarily, driven by patriotism?

[Kravtsov] Most likely the watch crew went spontaneously, obeying an order. Some did not manage to understand anything, and woke up while at sea... Even those whom the executive officer brought from the barracks did not follow him right away. Later, the sailors told me that he had lined them up several times from 0400 on and had appealed to them. He had persuaded them only when he had begun talking to each one separately.

[Korolyuk] Did you fly St. Andrew's standard over the submarine?

[Kravtsov] We did. Sailors put it together with a sheet and clippings from a blue blanket.

MAKSIM KUZMINSKIY, navigator of the same submarine, senior lieutenant, spent that night at home, and he knows about the event from stories told by his fellow servicemen and the press:

"He just wanted to express his protest. So what if he did not express it right away and if he spent three days preparing? After all, you cannot make such a decision right away... Had they sent for me, I would have gone with them at the time.

On 1 September 1991, A. Medvedev was released from confinement at the guardhouse; while in confinement, he submitted to the fleet commander a request to be discharged from the USSR Armed Forces. According to Brigade Commander A. Pobozhiy, no criminal charges will be filed against him, and by all signs the request will be granted.

Novosibirsk Battalion on Hunger Strike

LD0809215291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] The DR [expansion not known] press agency reports that a strike began on 6 September in the Novosibirsk disciplinary battalion. A total of 230 servicemen barricaded themselves in and declared an indefinite hunger strike, demanding a review of the state of affairs in disciplinary battalions, suspension of the USSR defense minister's order giving prominence in the armed forces system to the disciplinary battalions, and a total replacement of the battalion's officer corps. of the battalion.

The strikers proposed that the military procurator of the military district should investigate all cases of abuse of power by members of the officer corps in regard to those kept in the battalion. General Valentin Kichatov, chief of staff of Novosibirsk Military District [as heard], has stated that the conflict will be sorted out in the near future. Speaking about the strikers, he commented on their high level of discipline, restraint, and good organization. The agency reports that some of the demands have already been met.

Decree Abolishes Political Organs in Armed Forces

91UM0845A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Aug 91 Single Edition p 1

["Ukase of the president of the USSR: 'Abolition of Military- Political Organs in the USSR Armed Forces, the USSR Committee for State Security Forces, Internal Forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Railroad Troops'"]

[Text] 1. To abolish military-political organs in the USSR Armed Forces, the USSR Committee for State Security forces, internal forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Railroad Troops. To ensure upon implementation of the organizational measures strict observance of the rights and legitimate interests of the personnel of the organs being abolished.

2. That the USSR Defense Ministry and USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs will implement measures pertaining to a fundamental improvement in educational work among the troops.

3. To recognize as being null and void:

The ukase of the president of the USSR of 8 September 1990 "Reforming of the Political Organs of the USSR Armed Forces, the USSR Committee for State Security Forces, Internal Forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Railroad Troops" ("Gazette of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and USSR Supreme Soviet, 37, 1990, item 711);

The ukase of the president of the USSR of 11 January 1991 "Approval of the General Provisions Governing Military-Political Organs" ("Gazette of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and the USSR Supreme Soviet," 3, 1991, item 75).

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Kremlin, Moscow.

29 August 1991.

Baltic Affairs

Shevardnadze Offers Congratulations, Advice

LD1209174791 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] I sincerely congratulate the peoples of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia on the occasion of restoring their state independence. This was said by Eduard Shevardnadze, former USSR foreign minister, in an interview to BALTIJA. I also congratulate you on today's historical event in acquiring participator status among the states in the Helsinki process. I should like to wholeheartedly recommend that the peoples of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia base their relations with all states in the world, as well as with all USSR republics who will be signing the new union treaty and those who will not, on mutual understanding and cooperation, he continued. The Baltic states must become a part within the joint democratic space and remember that people of goodwill have been supporting them.

Assessing the work of Latvian diplomats, Shevardnadze said that in his opinion Latvia has diplomats who are well educated. Contacts could be more extensive with the USSR Foreign Ministry, which is rendering assistance to the Baltic states.

Estonia

Savisaar: USSR Situation 'Extremely Unstable'

OW1209134991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Addressing newsmen in Tallin Tuesday evening, Estonian prime minister Edgar Savisaar described the situation in the USSR as extremely unstable. According to him, it might further aggravate in the next few months.

This can be explained, said E. Savisaar, with several factors, such as uncertainty regarding the signing of a union treaty, rashness displayed by some republics in proclaiming their independence, the explosive situation in Central Asia, the Caucasus and Moldova and the lack of clarity concerning the outcome of presidential elections in the Ukraine.

The conservative forces are looking for an opportunity to get revenge after their August's defeat, said the Estonian premier. "If we fail to strengthen our independence in the next few months, we'll face new ordeals," he said.

The communist movement in the USSR is being secretly restored. The CPSU actually conducted an underground congress on September 7 and 8, said Savisaar.

The Estonian prime minister pointed to the dangerous polarization taking place in the Soviet Army and KGB. At a time when the government is incapable of paying wages to the servicemen a social base of support for the conservative forces might emerge in the Army. He also expressed concern about the destiny of strategic nuclear forces.

When asked by BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent whether or not Estonia will be able to defend itself if the conservative forces in the USSR attempt to get revenge, E. Savisaar said that his government announced voluntary mobolization to the so-called public security reserve.

He also said that under Estonia's law on the police the functions of security forces are performed by the defence police: a special unit for combating organized crime and terrorism.

German Foreign Minister Arrives in Tallinn

OW1209143391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher who arrived in Tallinn on September 11 met with Estonian parliament leader Arnold Ruutel.

Speaking at a press-conference on the same day, Genscher said that during 55 post-WWII years Germany did not recognize the annexation of the Baltics by the USSR and had recognized its special status.

The minister said that Germany supported the Baltics joining international organisations, including the UN, the European Council and the European Community as soon as possible. He also spoke in support of extending the economic aid sent to Eastern Europe to the Baltics.

The minister did not spell out in details what amounts would be given to the Baltics and said that during his visit he was to find out the possibility of giving aid to Estonia.

Genscher extended an official invitation to visit Germany to Estonian premier Edgar Savisaar.

On September 12 Genscher was leaving for Riga, and then for Vilnius.

Savisaar Holds Talks With Silayev, Pankin

LD1209164491 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Excerpts] The Estonian and Russian prime ministers discussed the general principles of the two countries economic relations for the next year during their meeting today in Moscow. Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar said in an interview with the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE that he hopes an agreement will be concluded within the next month or so. [passage omitted]

Assurances were also given that the current year's economic agreement will be adhered to; this will mean that

Estonia will get fuel and other similar products from Russia at below-market prices. Neither Russia nor Estonia will resort to import-export taxes with respect to each other, nor increased customs tariffs.

Savisaar and Silayev decided that within a week a joint commission will be set up that will begin to draw up trade, economic, financial, and other agreements for 1992. Separate working groups will be set up to resolve customs issues as well as issues connected with transportation, communications, and power engineering. Corresponding departments will be charged with the task of drawing up a draft border agreement between the two countries by the end of the year.

The parties agreed that they will start work so as not to allow any property of cultural or historic value to be illegally brought onto the territory of the other side, and to assist in the return of any cultural property that for various reasons has ended up in the other state.

The Estonian prime minister also met Foreign Minister Boris Pankin. After their meeting, Edgar Savisaar told the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE that a joint position was reached on restoring diplomatic relations between the USSR and the Republic of Estonia as soon as possible.

Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar will return to Tallinn today.

Agreement With USSR Interior Ministry Signed

OW1209124391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar has told BF [BALTFAX] that the agreement between the Estonian government and the USSR Interior Hinistry signed on Wednesday is a logical continuation of the treaty on the independence of Estonian law- enforcement bodies signed last year. It completes the process of the separation of local bodies from the Union system. On the other hand, the Estonian leader said, the agreement creates good prerequisites for successfully combating crime in Estonia and cooperating with Soviet colleagues in the sphere.

On Thursday Savisaar is to meet his Russian counterpart Ivan Silayev in Moscow. According to the Estonian premier, they will discuss issues related to a bilateral treaty for next year. Savisaar hoped that the two sides would be able to agree upon the key principles and structure of the future treaty and sign it within a month or six weeks.

Parliament Passes Law on Foreign Investment

OW1209124891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday the Estonian parliament passed a law on foreign investments that regulates the procedure of foreign investments as well as benefits and legal guarantees to foreign investors.

Under the law companies involving foreign capital are founded in line with the general procedure established in Estonia for all companies.

The formation of commercial banks involving foreign capital is within the competence of the Bank of Estonia.

The law sets a strict time frame of one month for the consideration of application from a foreign investor. If a decision is not made within this time, the licence is considered to be automatically granted.

Companies involving foreign capital are taxed in line with general tax regulations, tax and customs benefits.

The prices are set by the companies themselves.

The guarantees of foreign investments come from the Republic of Estonia.

National Bank Closes USSR State Bank Branch

OW1209130191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday the board of the Bank of Estonia decided to close the Estonian branch of the USSR State Bank and merge it with the Bank of Estonia. This was announced at a Wednesday news conference in Tallinn by the president of the Bank of Estonia Rein Otsasson. He stressed the complexity of the matter and the necessity of sorting out a number of questions with the USSR State Bank in order to minimize losses for the Estonian economy. He singled out the problems of cash supplies and credit resources.

According to Otsasson, the board session also discussed the possibility of the bank's membership in international financial organizations. He said that a delegation of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] has visited Estonia and negotiated the terms of Estonian membership in the EBRD.

Otsasson said that in the near future the Bank of Estonia intends to start issuing bonds of a foreign currency loan abroad. He said that if everything succeeds Estonia might count on $50-100 million.

The bank president also hoped that the gold reserves of the Estonian bank that were kept in Western countries in 1940 will soon be returned to their legitimate owner.

Universal Military Service To Be Reintroduced

PM1209082791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Sep 91 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Military Training Again"]

[Text] Tallinn—It is intended to reintroduce an initial military training course in Estonia's general schools. In previous years this subject was mandatory for all students without exception, including girls. But it was later abolished. By decision of the republic Supreme Soviet universal military service was abolished on Estonian territory in spring 1990 and draftees received an opportunity to choose between active military service and alternative labor service.

After Estonian state independence was declared 20 August the parliament decided to set up defense forces. The government was told to form a Defense Ministry and submit a Law on Universal Defense Service by 1 October. So universal military service will be resumed—only now for service in the defense forces' national units and not in the USSR Armed Forces. It is still not known how many troops there will be and of what kind.

Latvia

German Foreign Minister Genscher Visits Riga

Holds Talks With Jurgans

LD1209084391 Berlin ADN in German 0655 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Riga (ADN)—Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher met with his Latvian counterpart Janis Jurkans in Riga this morning. Genscher arrived early this morning from Tallinn, where he discussed projects for future bilateral cooperation with Estonian President Arnold Ruutel and Foreign Minister Lennart Meri. Genscher promised the Estonians German support in the desired association negotiations with the European Community.

The German foreign minister is to confer with President Anatolijs Gorbunovs and Premier Ivars Godmanis in Riga. This afternoon Genscher is to fly to Vilnius, the last stop on his two-day Baltic tour.

The Latvian Government Chairman accepted an invitation from Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to visit Germany. Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher announced this today after his talks in Riga. Genscher said that he promised the Latvian leadership German support for a speedy start to EC association negotiations, for extending to the Baltic states aid from the 24 OECD states for eastern and southeastern Europe, and for admittance to the Council of Europe and the United Nations. The Latvian side showed great interest in German help in setting up their banking and monetary systems, as well as in expanding Riga as a port. Genscher said Latvia intends to base its new currency on the value of the German mark. The German foreign minister conferred with Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Premier Ivars Godmanis, and Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans in Riga. Genscher will fly to Lithuania this afternoon.

Acknowledges Independence

LD1209170991 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Anta Busa report at the Latvian Supreme Council press center in Riga]

[Excerpt] Greetings! Today at our improvised studio we will be with my colleagues, Janis Podins and Valdis Ivanovs. The event about which we will tell you first was already reflected in the so-called historical digression from our colleague. A moment ago, we reported that German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has arrived in the Republic of Latvia after visiting Estonia. This morning, he had time to meet Council of Ministers Chairman Ivar Godmanis. He also spoke with Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans and met Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs, as well. His meeting took place in the White Hall of the Supreme Council. After that, over coffee, there was a conversation about which I unfortunately have no information at the moment; however, Hans-Dietrich Genscher gave journalists a relatively extensive news conference. It must be said that he has arrived in Latvia with his own group of German journalists, and journalists of our republic had to get information directly at the news conference. As to what the German foreign minister said to begin the news conference, he addressed the Latvian nation. However, you will hear it straight in German, perhaps, with an English translation, as a sufficient number of residents of our republic have a command of these languages:

[Begin Genscher recording in German with superimposed English translation] Germany welcomes the fact that Latvia is again able to exercise its sovereignty and independence. We are happy to be the first to be represented by an embassy here. With the restoration of the sovereignty and independence of Latvia, with the acceptance of Latvia among the CSCE states on 10 September, a period of injustice of more than 50 years, which began with the criminal Hitler-Stalin pact, has come to an end. [end recording]

As you heard, Hans-Dietrich Genscher greeted the Latvian nation on regaining its independence, expressing pleasure at this meeting in Latvia with the leaders of our government and Supreme Council and stated after that that Germany's part in this had not been small at the time when Latvia was on its way to this independence, and now, too, when Latvia wants to reclaim its place in the political and ecnomic structures of Europe.

It would be essential to add that Genscher also spoke about purely practical matters. He added that it will be necessary for a group of experts to arrive in Latvia soon to examine what kind of economic aid it would be possible to offer Latvia. Of course, he also spoke, answering journalists' questions, about the Soviet Army. Here, he recalled the experience of the German democratic...[changes thought] the former GDR. This matter must be settled legally, and, of course, in the near future it will be settled. It must be added that he has invited Godmanis to visit Germany in the near future.

Janis Jurkans, who participated in and was present at this news conferece, thanked Hans-Dietrich Genscher for his visit and acknowledged Germany's part, Germany's attitude to our independence having played one of the main parts in the process toward independence, and yesterday and the day before too, in Moscow, when assigning full membership to the Baltic states in the CSCE. Janis Jurkans also acknowledged that, with the acceptance into this political structure of Europe, a great period of old history has come to an end, and we have entered a new period of history. So important are our future relations; Janis Jurkans hopes there will be concrete assistance from Germany, support for our future processes in life, our economic development process and the integration process in Europe. [passage omitted]

Officials Meet USSR Defense Minister in Moscow

LD1309013391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0400 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] As reported, the leader of the Latvian Government, Ivars Godmanis, and legislative representatives Deputy Mikhail Stepichev and Talavs Jundzis, the chairman of the Defense and Internal Affairs Commission of the Supreme Council, met yesterday in Moscow with USSR Defense Minister Shaposhnikov. The talks touched on the future presence of the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of the republic. According to what Talavs Jundzis said, the USSR side offered to begin the complete withdrawal of the forces from the Republic of Latvia no sooner than 1994. This proposal is of course not acceptable to Latvia. We will report further on the course of the talks during the review section of the program.

EC Experts in Riga Explore Economic Potential

OW1209122791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1315 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press-service of Latvia's economics ministry has told BNS [BALTFAX NEWS SERVICE] that a group of six experts from the European Community have arrived in the republican capital Riga. They will look into the opportunities of Latvia's political and economic development. Spheres for the European Community to apply financial investment and technical support would be determined.

On Wednesday, the Community's experts are having a meeting with officials of the Latvian ministries of foreign affairs, economics and industry and other government agencies.

Parliament Dissolves Some Local Government Bodies

OW1209124591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian parliament has dissolved the local government and self-government bodies in the Kurzeme suburb of Riga, the towns of Daugavpils and Rezekne. The decision was made following the report of the Procurator-General of the republic Ianis Skrastins about the anti-constitutional activities of the above-mentioned bodies manifesting themselves in support for the coup.

The presidium of parliament is to set the date for new elections in the areas.

Citizen's Congress Wants Elections Postponed

OW1209124191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leadership of the Congress of Latvian Citizens believes that new elections to the republic's Sejm [as received] should be postponed till the complete withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Latvian territory otherwise they can be won by Communists. The opinion was expressed at a Tuesday news conference by the chairman of the Latvian committee Maris Grinblats and his deputy Eriks Vebers.

The head of the internal affairs commission Janis Straume said that the next session of the Congress is expected to pass a decision under which only persons carrying citizen's certificates of the Congress will be able to take part in the elections.

Supreme Council Outlaws Communist Party

OW1209152691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On September 10 the Supreme Council of Latvia voted overwhelmingly (with 90 votes in favour and 2 against) to terminate the activities in the republic of the Communist Party of Latvia, the republican branch of the Komsomol youth organisation, the Internationalist Front of Latvia, the United Council of Labour Collectives, and the organisation of war and labour veterans. Their activities were recognized as unconstitutional.

Former Interfront leader, Mr A. Alekseev, said he regarded this move as an attempt to get rid of opposition, instead of trying to identify those responsible.

Rubiks Reportedly Had Direct Link With OMON

*OW1209145191 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1900 GMT 11 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to information from Latvia's Procuracy, a field telephone providing direct communications with the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] riot police force and the Baltic Military District was found during a search in the cabinet of the republic's Communist Party leader Alfreds Rubiks in the party's headquarters. Parts of a radio transmitter were found in his reception room.

Parliament Adopts Law on Compulsory Service

*LD1209204691 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1618 GMT 11 Sep 91*

[Galina Kuchina report]

[Text] Riga, 11 Sep (TASS)—The Latvian Parliament has adopted a law on compulsory state service. In accordance with the law, from 1 October onward young men will start being called up to militarized formations for service on the border and for the protection of places of imprisonment. The ranks of the police, where there are now, 2,000 vacancies, will also have to be filled.

All permanent residents—young men between the ages of 19 and 25—are at present subject to being drafted. But as soon as the status of the republic's citizens is established, the wall will be confined to only them. If religious or pacifist convictions do not permit someone to use weapons, he will be sent to do labor duty. The latter will be for 24 months, while military duty will be for 18 months. During the fall conscription period, a total of 4-5,000 young men will be drafted.

Lithuania

Genscher Greets 'Free Lithuanian People'

*LD1209171791 Moscow TASS in English
1421 GMT 12 Sep 91*

[Kazys Uscila report]

[Text] Vilnius September 12 TASS—German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher arrived here this afternoon.

The guest was received by Lithuanian parliament President Vytautas Landsbergis. Genscher laid flowers at the altar arranged at the foot of the barricades that still surround the Lithuanian parliament building.

"The German people greet the free Lithuanian people," Genscher said, addressing Vilnius residents who attended the flowers laying ceremony.

He pointed out that the day when he visited the capital of the Lithuanian republic is a historic one for the German people as well: A treaty opening the way for German reunification was signed in Moscow exactly one year ago.

The German foreign minister welcomed Lithuania returning to the European Community and called for working for the benefit of "a democratic Europe, a Europe of social justice, a free Europe, in which there will be room for the peoples of the Soviet Union as well".

Genscher is due to meet Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius and hold a news conference later in the day.

Briefs Press on Visit, Cooperation

*LD1209180691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 12 Sep 91*

[Text] The German flag was flying today over the Supreme Council building in honor of German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his entourage. Hans-Dietrich Genscher was followed during his visit to Lithuania by a large group of German correspondents.

The German foreign minister met with the Parliament and Government leaders, [passage indistinct]. There was a large group of correspondents too. I am happy that I am able to greet the free Lithuanian people, the German Foreign Minister said. Hans-Dietrich Genscher spoke for about five minuties at the plenary sitting of the Supreme Council.

Then a news conference with the German foreign minister took place. We transmit an exceerpt from this conference, and apologize for the poor quality of recording:

[Begin recording; Genscher in German with superimposed Lithuanian translation] I am sincerely grateful for the reception given by the president, the government, the minister [passage indistinct].

Summing up the results I could say that Germany will soon send you experts and specialists so you can rapidly create an administration of high quality, and so you can manage your economic life. Basing ourselves on this we are going to develop relations. They will be equal and friendly relations. Germany supports Lithuania receiving the aid of the developed countries, and we support Lithuania's wish to associate with the EC and then become an EC member. We have decided that we together will help Lithuania overcome its problems. [end recording]

Replying to a question of when, in his opinion, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia could become fully fledged members of the EEC, Mr. Genscher said: First of all, you must become associate members. For Lithuania to become a fully fledged member of the EC, certain changes are needed. A market economy must be established and Lithuania must have its own currency.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher was asked: What is Germany's attitude toward the Soviet Army in Lithuania. The German foreign minister replied: Our problem is similiar. We have concluded an agreement with the Soviet Union on the Army's withdrawal from Germany. The Soviet Union is observing that agreement in a very examplary manner. Maybe it would withdraw its Army even sooner if it had somewhere for it to go. In view of this I hope that a similiar agreement may be concluded between Lithuania and the Soviet Union.

Confers With Landsbergis

LD1209144391 Berlin ADN in German 1358 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Vilnius (ADN)—Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was received by Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis in Vilnius this afternoon after he conferred with Algirdas Saudargas, his Lithuanian counterpart. [passage omitted]

Genscher told the press that the Federal Government intends to support the aid from the 24 Western industrialized states for Eastern and Southeast European countries being extended to the Baltic states. At the same time, he called on the West not just to accompany the independence and autonomy of the Baltic states with good wishes but to show practical solidarity in the complicated organization of market economy structures. He said that Germany favors association negotiations between Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and the EC being taken up as soon as possible. They should be the first step toward full membership of the EC for the Baltic states. In addition, the Baltic states should be admitted as full members of the Council of Europe by the end of the year.

Genscher assured his interlocutors of German aid in developing administrations. A further intention is to promote bilateral cooperation in all spheres through a contractual framework. To this end, joint economic commissions will be formed in the medium-term, cultural working programs will be worked out, and Goethe Institutes will be opened in all three Baltic countries. Moreover, the Federal Republic wants to advise the Baltic states on establishing legal conditions for foreign investments to reduce the Baltics' economic dependence on the Soviet Union and gradually integrate them into the world economy. He invited the government chiefs of the three countries to make official visits to Bonn.

Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas said that Genscher's stand helped bring about international recognition for the Lithuanian state. He told ADN: "Herr Genscher was the initiator in the process of the Baltic states receiving associate membership status in the European Council."

Hans-Dietrich Genscher plans to return to Bonn this afternoon.

Landsbergis Seeks Unconditional Troop Withdrawal

LD1309102791 Moscow TASS in English 0953 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Vladimir Solntsev report]

[Text] Tokyo September 13 TASS—Lithuanian parliament leader Vytautas Landsbergis said in an interview with the Japanese KYODO TSUSHIN News Agency that Soviet troops should be withdrawn from Lithuanian territory as soon as possible and without any preconditions.

Landsbergis said there was not any agreement between Vilnius and Moscow concerning the troop pullout but it was not required because their presence on Lithuanian territory also was not based on any agreement.

According to available estimates, over 100,000 Soviet servicemen are stationed on the territory of three Baltic states with the greater part of them being in Lithuania, KYODO TSUSHIN points out. After the USSR State Council recognised the Baltic republics' independence, Soviet troops began moving out of Vilnius. However, Landsbergis said he doubted that this was the beginning of their complete withdrawal as promises made earlier were not fulfilled.

Despite an agreement with Moscow to withdraw all of the OMON units, part of them continues to stay in Lithuania, Landsbergis said. He drew attention to the accord under which all Lithuanians who do military service in the USSR Armed Forces, should be freed of it, but he said no formal decree on this score had yet been issued.

Landsbergis said Lithuania intended to be committed to the policy of neutrality, which the country had pursued when it was independent before the Second World War. He emphasised Lithuania was not going to join any international military alliance. However, he said Lithuania sought to elaborate a joint defence policy with Estonia and Latvia.

On relations with the USSR, Landsbergis said what should first and foremost be defined is what form the future union will take. He said Lithuania hoped to maintain friendly relations with the USSR but will not join any economic union. According to Landsbergis, the 1922 peace treaty between the Soviet Union and independent Lithuania can be regarded as having legal standing and a new bilateral agreement can be elaborated on its basis.

Gorbachev Contacted on Soviet Army Withdrawal

LD1209210191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Vaisvila and General Director of the country's Defense Department Butkevicius have held a meeting in Vilnius with Colonel General Klemenov and Lieutenant General Mironov, representatives of the Soviet Union's Defense Ministry. Problems relating to the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from the Republic of Lithuania were discussed. Views were exchanged during the meeting in Vilnius on the formation of an interstate commission. This commission should solve problems concerning the withdrawal of the Soviet Union's armed forces from the territory of Lithuania, the division of the Army's property, and its takeover by the Republic of Lithuania.

Lithuanian Prime Minister Vagnorius today sent a telegram to Soviet President Gorbachev on the formation of the abovementioned interstate commission.

Supreme Council Adopts Direct Rule Decision

LD1209221791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania has passed a decision today to impose direct rule for the period of six months in Vilnius district and Salcininkai district, in the southeast of Lithuania, and a period of 12 months in the town of Snieckus, where the nuclear power station is situated. The government is authorized to appoint direct rule commissioners.

In three months' time a special commission is to render an account before the parliament on the unconstitutional actions of the local councils in these districts, the relations with the organizers of the January coup in Vilnius and the August coup in Moscow including. Investigation completed, elections to the local councils will be held.

Polish faction of the parliament voted against this decision, demanding that elections be held without delay. People disapproving of the decisions passed by the Supreme Council and the government to relieve the officials in the above mentioned districts of their posts and to impose direct rule placed pickets at the building of Lithuanian parliament again. There were no fewer people supporting the decisions among those gathered by the parliament.

Conflict With Polish Minority Detailed

LD1209190191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 12 Sep 91

[no video available]

[Excerpt] The conflict between the Lithuanian authorities and the Polish minority is worsening. The dissolution of the Polish councils in the Vilnius and Salcininkai districts may also become the cause of a serious crisis in the Lithuanian parliament, because Polish deputies are stressing the illegality of the decisions taken.

[Reporter] The district councils were dissolved a week ago. Administrative boards were introduced; but it was not until today that parliament discussed changes to the constitution enabling the introduction of this type of extraordinary measure in the districts. The Polish community expressed its discontent with unprecedented unanimity, by publishing declarations and demonstrating in the streets.

At the moment, a rally is being held in front of the parliament entrance—or rather, two rallies: on the one hand, Lithuanian organizations supporting the government's measures and at the same time accusing the Poles of pro-Soviet sympathies; and on the other, a group of several hundred Poles, protesting against the dissolution of the district councils and the dismissal of Polish officials. The forces of law and order have not yet intervened. [passage omitted]

Protest Over Plan for Polish Areas

PM1209104391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[N. Lashkevich report: "Conflict in the Lithuanian Parliament"]

[Text] By order of the Lithuanian Government, over 10 leaders of the Vilnyusskiy and Shalchininkskiy Rayon Soviets and Snechkus Settlement Soviet have been released from their posts. Henceforth, these soviets will be headed by government representatives.

This order and the preceding Lithuanian Supreme Soviet resolution on the disbandment of the three soviets caused a storm of protest in eastern Lithuania. I would point out that in Shalchininkskiy and Vilnyusskiy Rayons the majority of the population is Polish and in Snechkus it is Russian. Local deputies were hostile toward the parliament's decision. They said that the disbandment of the soviets and the appointment of administrators from the center, kind of voivodes, infringes the rights of ethnic minorities in Lithuania, and the accusations of aiding and abetting the putschists are merely an excuse for persecuting Poles because they want autonomy.

But one day before the parliamentary decision on the disbandment of the soviets and dismissal of Shalchininkskiy Soviet Chairman Ch. Vysotskiy and his deputy, A. Monkevich, (incidentally, they did in fact welcome the establishment of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] and are now in hiding) a Shalchininkskiy Rayon Soviet session had already ruled that they should be released from their posts, thus reacting to their leaders' support for the putchists. However, the Lithuanian parliament essentially blamed the entire soviet, which caused a major wave of indignation.

Moreover, the Supreme Soviet intends to introduce direct rule in these rayons. This would mean power functions passing from the soviets into the hands of administrators appointed in Vilnius. And the government was quick to appoint its own representatives even before parliament made the decision and the relevant commission discussed the problem.

As a result emotions became so inflamed that eastern Lithuania appeared to be turning into a zone of acute interethnic conflict little different from similar confrontations in the country's other trouble spots. One could hardly expect the Poles to react calmly to the news of centralized government of their region.

The Polish faction, which comprises eight deputies, said that if direct rule were introduced and the representatives were to start work, they would cease their activities in the Supreme Soviet. This is indeed a scandal that affects what is for Lithuania a most painful issue—ethnic minorities. And it could flare up on the eve of the visit to Lithuania by U.S. Secretary of State Baker, whose position regarding equality for ethnic minorities is well known.

The republic Supreme Soviet session, which opens Tuesday, will decide whether direct rule is to be introduced or not. Perhaps a compromise solution will be found. In any case, fierce polemics are expected, and IZVESTIYA will certainly inform its readers of their results.

Treatment of Poles Criticized

LD1209213191

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Moscow in Polish at 1600 GMT on 12 September broadcasts a 17-minute interview with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Vassiliy Lesovik, monitored from poor reception owing to interference from another station. Skubiszewski, who heads the Polish delegation to the CSCE Conference in Moscow, gives the gist of his speech to the Conference, stressing Poland's concern for observance of human rights in international relations; for arbitration and conciliation in these relations, with special reference to Yugoslavia. On the subject of the treatment of the Polish minority in Lithuania, he states:

"What is happening is definitely not good and should not take place. Internal administrative matters, the composition of bodies; steps taken against people who supported the coup: these matters are within the jurisdiction of Lithuania and (?I won't interfere). As you know, the highest Polish circles, led by President Walesa, were against that coup and expressed this in various ways. There is no question of that. But one has to remember one thing: everything should be done according to the law, but the dissolution of the self-government councils and boards was in contravention of Lithuanian law and a state cannot start its normal international functioning by violating the important provisions of its own law—its own law and international law have to be respected. I will not go into what kind of bodies they were and what changes have to be introduced. That's Lithuania's affair and the affair of the Poles there. The Polish Government does not and will not interfere. But we think that depriving Poles of these or other bodies makes them powerless. One has to have a tool to defend one's interests and Poles in Lithuania need this defense. For this reason, I had talks with [Lithuanian Foreign] Minister Saudargas in a very friendly spirit and I put forward a very specific proposal, namely that the Lithuanian Supreme Council and the Lithuanian Government should suspend the execution of their decisions, which would enable matters to be put in order by the Poles and also [enable] the functioning of those bodies in accordance with the interests of the Lithuanian State, for those interests must also be observed. That is the fundamental duty of every minority: loyalty to the state on whose territory a given minority operates. But police measures, namely commissars, will get nowhere; and I not only had talks on this question, but I also wrote a most official letter."

Skubiszewski goes on to say that Poland's links with the West do not mean that she is turning her back on the East, with which she wantsd close and good relations, whatever might come about there. Poland is against a new CEMA, but in favor of an economic union of republics, with which she would have relations. At the moment, Poland is laying stress on bilateral relations with individual Republics.

On his contacts with Presidents Gorbachev and Yeltsin, Skubiszewski says: "Well, I had a brief conversation with President Gorbachev at the beginning of yesterday's reception. President Gorbachev has a very good understanding of Poland's attitude, her attitude to the USSR, her negative attitude toward the attempted coup. I think our clear support for the legality of the USSR is a very good factor in our mutual relations. I must say that I found President Gorbachev in very good form.

"And as regards President Yeltsin, there was first of all a meeting by President Yeltsin with the 38 foreign ministers and some other personages and that was an opportunity to take part in discussion following President Yeltsin's speech. So, I took advantage of that opportunity to convey publicly to President Yeltsin best greetings from President Walesa and words of recognition for everything he is doing. I said that those words were not only from the head of the Polish State, but also from a Nobel Peace Prizewinner and that I thought that President Yeltsin would soon be among those prizewinners too, for his great services to peace. That is no platitude. Maintaining internal peace over such a great area as the USSR; restoring legality, in which President Yeltsin played a leading role: that is a great contribution to maintaining international peace, because upheaval in such a great state as the USSR, in an intercontinental State - as I have often said in various speeches of mine and in my lectures abroad - has repercussions on everybody, so somebody who prevents that, who acts toward legality, he has done great service to international relations. I then asked how President Yeltsin saw the international role of Russia and her relations. The answer is recorded on tape - you can obtain it. The answer was very interesting. And then, in a two-sided conversation, I said that we can be glad that last October we signed, in the very same White House, a joint declaration - for we are among the few pairs of states, which already have such a document, which we have regarded seriously from the outset. Today, we have to go further and economic relations are very important, hence the importance of the recent treaty with Russia signed by Deputy Premier Balcerowicz."

IMF, GATT Membership Applications Soon

AU1209114791 Paris AFP in English 1128 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Vilnius, Lithuania, Sept 10 (AFP)—Lithuania will make official applications to join the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and GATT in the next few months, Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis said here Thursday.

Landsbergis said in an interview with AFP that the newly-independent Baltic republic would make an official application before the end of the year for IMF membership.

It would also officially apply for membership of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) before January, he said.

He also mentioned Lithuania's economic problems, and said he hoped Western countries would adopt a policy of active support and cooperation with the Baltic states, whose independence Moscow recognised last week.

Prosecutors To Receive Aid in Investigations

OW1209150391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1300 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In his Wednesday's interview for Lithuanian TV the republic's prosecutor-general Arturas Paulauskas said that an agreement was reached with the central and Russian prosecuting agencies on their aid to Lithuanian authorities in investigating the January events in Vilnius, the killing of customs officials in Medininkai and August's coup. In connection with all this Lithuanian prosecuting officials will be allowed to question the former defence minister Yazov, his deputy Varennikov, the former KGB chief Kriyuchkov and others, said A. Paulauskas. Lithuanian investigators vill be given the opportunity to inspect weapons believed to have been used in Medininkai. The leaders of Lithuania's Communist party M. Burokiavicius, A. Naudjunas and others will be returned to Lithuania if central or Russian law-enforcers succeed in detaining them.

Accusations on Rehabilitation of Nazis Addressed

LD1209225291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 2030 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Today there was a session of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, which adopted the following statement—they have just this minute brought it into the studio:

The foreign press and the reports of news agencies have recently expressed intense concern over the fact that among the rehabilitated former exiles in Lithuania from the times of Stalinism and participants in the resistance to the occupation of the Soviets there may be persons who, in the years of the occupation by Nazi Germany, committed crimes against humanity and who participated in executions of Jews. The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania declares that, according to the law of the Republic of Lithuania of 2 May 1990, such activity is prohibited. Not a single person acknowledged as guilty of taking part in the crime of the genocide of Jews and other annihilations of unarmed people can be rehabilitated. This principle and law are being observed, and for that reason about 500 applications for rehabilitation have been refused.

However, there may be individual cases where the staff of law and order bodies have been insufficiently careful in dealing with the proposals of citizens in which there is a presentation of new incriminating evidence, and in which the organizations have not hastened to give immediate replies to questions coming from abroad. Mistakes may have been made because the Procuracy General of the Republic of Lithuania did not have at its disposal any other material than that being received from the KGB of the USSR available to reach its conclusions, and trusted it without circumspection. Various points of view may arise with the request to recognize old KGB investigative material in considering evidence of the accused against themselves. In each of these cases, it is necessary to display enormous attention, insight, and secondary examination in dubious cases. The absence of such an attitude to these matters is to be condemned. No less harshly must be condemned the disinformation disseminated on 6 September 1991 by TASS of the alleged rehabilitation of 35,000 people condemned by the Soviets as Nazi war criminals in Lithuania starting in 1988.

The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania considers that the formation of a joint working group of the parliaments of Lithuania and Israel, which would reexamine every dubious case, could avoid both mistakes in rehabilitation and unfounded rumors, and also accusations against the whole Republic of Lithuania. The proposal contained in a letter from U.S. congressmen of 6 September 1991 to Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Landsbergis, concerning cooperation with the U.S. Justice Department is also acceptable. We are aiming only for justice.

This statement was signed by Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis.

U.S. Legal Proceedings Pending

OW1209143191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to a BF [BALTFAX] correspondent, one of the items that figured prominently at the press-conference of the Lithuanian delegation in MoscoW on

Wednesday Was an article carried by THE NEW YORK TIMES on September 5 which claimed that a wholesale rehabilitation of Nazi War criminals was taking place in Lithuania. Procurator Vidmantas Vaicekauskas, who is head of the team charged with the restitution of rights to Lithuanian citizens unlawfully repressed under Stalin, denied the facts given in THE NEW YORK TIMES. Deputy Chairman of the republic's parliament, Mr Kazimieras Motieka, said that this article had done great damage to Lithuania's reputation in the world. He claimed that the publication had either been the result of incompetence of the journalists who had written it, or it represented premeditated slander aimed at harming the republic.

Mr Motieka said that Lithuania together with Israel and international Jewish organisations is intending to start a libel action against the newspaper.

'Expedient' To Continue Using Soviet Ruble

OW1209152991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1300 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania will have to introduce its own monetary unit, but at the moment it's premature to do so, said Lithuania's finance minister Elvira Kuniaviciene in a televised interview on Wednesday. So far it's expedient to use the Soviet rouble which is indispensable now in settlements with Soviet republics with which Lithuania is closely integrated, she said.

In Lithuania itself the rouble is losing its significance as a means of payment. That is why a unified system of coupons was introduced, E. Kuniaviciene pointed out. Lithuania will introduce its own monetary unit when control over the rouble is lost. "The introduction of Lithuanian currency is not a matter of time. It's a matter of ownership in real terms, control over property and economic management", said Lithuania's finance minister.

Hard Currency Possible Without Gold Reserve

OW1209130791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1315 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The manager of Lithuania's Central Bank Vilius Baldisis has said that Lithuania will be able to issue its own currency even if its gold reserve fails to return from abroad. He said that the manufacture of goods competitive in the world market would be the basic factor for this.

Before Lithuania became part of the Soviet Union in 1940 it had about 10 tons of gold in the banks of five countries. The current Lithuanian Government seeks to secure the gold's return or compensation for it. Vilius Baldisis says Lithuania kept 2.2 tons of gold in France, three or four tons in Britain, two tons in the United States, about 1.2 tons in Switzerland and 1.5 tons in Sweden. The manager of the Lithuanian Central Bank said that Lithuania would like to have its own currency as soon as possible.

Parliament Considers New Local Elections

OW1209123091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Today the Lithuanian parliament is to discuss draft resolutions worked out by the commission investigating the activities of the self-government bodies in Salcininkai region and the village of Sneckus during the coup. It is suggested to hold new elections to local government bodies there within three months and suspend the law on local self-government for one year.

The Lithuanian parliament has decided to dissolve councils in Salcininkai and Sneckus because their authorities supported the coup and the emergency committee.

PRC Delegation Arrives in Vilnius

LD1209172391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] A delegation of the PRC Foreign Ministry arrived today in Lithuania. It was headed by Deputy foreign Minister Tian Zengpei. The aim of the delegation is to prepare documents for the restoration of diplomatic relations between Lithuania and China.

The Chinese delegation was received by the chairman of the Supreme Council, Vytautas Landsbergis. Tian Zengpei stressed that there are no contradictions between the interests of China and Lithuania.

Yeltsin Issues Decree on Executive Power Branch

OW1209111991 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1030 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In line with the decree of the Russian president published on Thursday the Russian cabinet shall now be subordinate to the Russian president and act under his leadership. The president shall control the work of the cabinet and if need be preside its sessions.

The decree names as the main task of the cabinet the construction of a dynamic market economy on the basis of a radical economic reform, the development of favourable conditions for entrepreneurship, stimulating business and labor activeness. The decree stresses the need to expand economic ties between companies, regions and republics, for republics of the Russian Federation to pursue concerted fiscal, credit and monetary policies and to interact with other republics on key issues.

The Russian cabinet will make independent decisions on the procedure of drafting and passing its resolutions and orders that shall be obligatory for implementation throughout the territory of the Federation. Any interference of parties, other organizations government agencies, or officials in the activities of the cabinet shall be prohibited.

Proposals concerning the appointment or dismissal of the heads of administrations of regions and autonomous territories shall be submitted for approval by the president, the prime minister, the heads of the presidential administration and the chief of the control department of the administration. The heads of committees, departments and other agencies affiliated to the cabinet shall be appointed by the cabinet wth the consent of the president.

Burbulis Views Legislative-Executive Differences

OW1109082491 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] RSFSR State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis said in his exclusive interview for IF [INTERFAX] on Tuesday that he can well understand parliamentarians "anxiety" about the decisions taken by Russia's executive bodies. He does not think, however, that this signals the beginning of confrontation between the presidential administration and the Supreme Soviet of the republic. According to Mr. Burbulis, "a normal work process is under way, with the Russian Federation's legislative and executive bodies getting adjusted to each other."

As far as relationships between the Moscow City Council and the Mayor's Office are concerned, the State Secretary described the present situation as "alarming," but expressed confidence that a way out of the difficult situation would be found by concerted effort.

Briefs Solons on Decree

OW1009171491 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1330 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies met in the republic's parliament with RSFSR State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis, the head of President Yeltsin's staff Yuri Petrov, the Control Department head Valeriy Makharadze, and Boris Yeltsin's aide Lev Sukhanov.

Mr. Burbulis informed the meeting that the presidential apparatus consisted of two political structures—the State Council and the Federation and Territories Council, and two "practical" structures—the Council of Ministers and the Security Council.

In reply to MPs' [members of parliament] questions, he said executive power "is not fully satisfied with a series of presidential decrees concerning the city of Moscow." He acknowledged that some of these decrees ran counter not only to the RSFSR Constitution but also to a number of President Yeltsin's decrees issued earlier. Executive power is determined to correct some of its decisions, G. Burbulis said.

He expressed the view that the representative structures, i.e., the Congress of RSFSR people's deputies and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, had become "a brake on reform," which brought to the fore the question of holding early elections. With this goal in mind, a model of "compact" representative bodies with a clearly defined range of authority should be invented, State Secretary Burbulis said.

Silayev Disapproves of Moscow City Powers Decree

PM0909124991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by M. Krushinskiy: "Silayev Disapproves of Yeltsin's Decree on Powers of Moscow City Hall"]

[Text] Restrained disapproval is how you could describe Russian Premier Ivan Silayev's attitude to President Yeltsin's recent decree entitling Moscow City Hall to establish a ceiling on wholesale and retail prices and to introduce additional taxes and excise duties.

As is well known, this decision has prompted a sharp protest from business circles and prompted the Moscow convention of entrepreneurs to threaten to withdraw commercial structures and private businesses from the capital (for more details see IZVESTIYA No. 213). Speaking at a 6 September press conference, Ivan Silayev refrained from commenting directly on this conflict, but reaffirmed his adherence to the principle that "entrepreneurs will save the Russian economy." "We will create an economically favorable atmosphere for them," the head of the government said. At the same time, he urged the businessmen to "keep their nerve."

The head of the Russian administration also touched on the question of commercial structures in the dispute between the Russian Central Bank and lower-level banks (see IZVESTIYA No. 208). They have complained about blatant administrative interference in their work. Silayev spoke with clear disapproval about the Central Bank's attempts to "undertake legislative functions."

On the other hand, he preferred to remain an impartial observer when it came to another conflict. To a question about his attitude to the controversial Tenyakov affair—the important broker arrested in Chelyabinsk during the putsch—Ivan Silayev said: "The government should not interfere in the work of the justice organs. This is not a matter for the executive."

Well, that position can be understood. Admittedly, nobody is raising the question of interference in the workings of justice. The defenders of the arrested businessman are merely asking that he be released on bail before the investigation (into bribery) is completed. But, ultimately, Ivan Stepanovich is not just head of the Russian Government, but also of the recently established Congress of Businessmen, and in this capacity could have been more definite about the fate of a colleague who is another rather notable representative of the business world.

Deputies Cite Excessive Powers

PM1309134991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Report by I. Lenskiy: "What Is the Law?"]

[Text] An interrayon group of Moscow deputies has come into being in the capital on the basis of the public movement "For a Rule-of-Law State." What has caused the group to be formed? Aleksandr Krasnov, the movement's leader and chairman of Krasnopresnenskiy Rayon Soviet, answers this question:

"Unfortunately, an aggressive legal nihilism has developed on a postrevolutionary wave, and it stems from City Hall. Back at the very height of the putsch, 19 August, the mayor signed an order eliminating rayon soviet executive committees. Their bank accounts have already been sequestered, premises are being sealed, and property is being shamelessly appropriated by so-called Moscow ministries. Even formally this is a flouting of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Law on Local Organs of Self-Management. A large-scale offensive is essentially being waged against representative power, which is being replaced by a rigid administrative vertical line with its top end in the 'government of Moscow.' In other words—supercentralization."

"What do you intend to do?"

"We have asked the Prosecutor's Office, the courts, the Russian Supreme Soviet, and President Yeltsin personally to rescind the decree on the mayor's powers. For it transfers to the administration head the prerogatives of the judicial and representative authorities. We have enlisted the support of the Social Democratic Party, the Democratic Party of Russia, and the constitutional democrats' party, as well as employers, whose rights have also been infringed. We intend to give battle at the Moscow City Soviet session. Of course, we appeal to public opinion—a rally was held 8 September outside the rayon soviet building to voice solidarity with our demands, and another one is to be held 17 September. The contact telephone number is 256-30-21."

Chief Inspector Makharadze Interviewed on Tasks

PM1309124991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with V.A. Makharadze, chief state inspector of the RSFSR, by correspondent V. Kornev in Volgograd; date not given: "Representatives of Russian President See Their Duty in Ensuring that Local Administrations Are Effective"]

[Text] During the days of the putsch V.Makharadze, former chairman of the Volgograd Oblast Soviet, was in the White House.... IZVESTIYA has described the work of the oblast soviet which, thanks to the firm stance taken by its chairman, rejected party diktat and resolutely embarked on the path of radical democratic reforms. This time the reason for meeting with Valeriy Antonovich Makharadze was his appointment to a new post. Now he is chief state inspector of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]—chief of the monitoring administration of the RSFSR president's administration.

[Kornev] You now often hear it said that the formation of the administration you head, like the start of the appointment of representatives of the Russian president and the heads of administrations in the regions, is a kind of reaction by the Russian leadership to the events of 19-22 August. Although, as I know, the decree on your appointment to your new post was signed by RSFSR President B. Yeltsin back on 14 August, before the coup.

[Makharadze] That is correct. That is why I was in Moscow, where the putsch found me. Together with RSFSR People's Deputy Ye. Kuznetsov, recommended for the post of the Russian president's representative in Volgograd Oblast. I maintained a link with the organs of power locally and, having at that time not yet laid down my powers as oblast soviet chairman, primarily, of course, with the people of Volgograd. The Volgograd Oblast Soviet presidium and the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] took the side of the legally elected authorities and the Russian president. It was in this extreme situation that I had to begin work at my new post. Ye. Kuznetsov, who has now officially taken up the post of the RSFSR president's representative in Volgograd Oblast, left the White House on three occasions during the coup to visit the post of the military units, explaining to soldiers and officers the anticonstitutional nature of the putschists' actions.

[Kornev] That is, to judge by Volgograd Oblast, there are no grounds for assessing the appointments "from above" as distrust in the local authorities?

[Makharadze] No, that is not how the question was or is being raised. The normal process of the reform of state structures briefly interrupted by the putsch is now continuing so that in the transitional period they may work as effectively as possible. It is scarcely necessary to explain how important this is and the threat entailed by the paralysis of power and the stoppage of the economy.

It is true, as you know, that after the elimination of the putsch, lack of confidence was indeed displayed toward some local officials. They have been removed from their posts. But we should not shift the emphasis, as some people are now trying to do, by calling the measures which have been adopted sanctions for political dissent. After all, there were practical actions in support of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Essentially the refusal to recognize the legally elected supreme authorities of Russia and the laws of the RSFSR.

It so happened that the start of the reform of the executive structures "coincided" with the putsch. The problem itself had long been urgent and had been discussed for a long time. I recall that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet had adopted dozens of laws establishing a "most-favored status" for market relations and the market economy. I am sure that had the local authorities in accordance with this law created "most-favored status" for entrepreneurs, individual farmers, and other businessmen, we would already have a substantial additional quantity of goods and food. But locally they are very often delaying matters or else spontaneously "adding to" the laws in such a way that they become virtually dead.

This situation has actually become the pretext for creating the Monitoring Administration of the RSFSR president's administration. Our task is to seek to ensure that the laws work, to monitor their execution.

[Kornev] Scarcely anyone will argue about how important and urgent are the aims which have been set. Arguments are generated by something else—the forms of achieving these aims. Many people are worried that the enthusiasm for administrative methods may result in the infringement of democracy.

[Makharadze] Let us take a look. I shall not start theorizing. I shall say what I myself constantly encountered as oblast soviet chairman. The executive committees have "in their blood," so to speak, the habit of working without control which they have inherited from the administrative-edict system. As a result, the executive organs not only treat the laws arbitrarily, they also fail to pay attention to people which, incidentally, are interconnected.

What will change? The head of the administration appointed by the decree of the Russian president will have more rights. But, at the same time, his responsibility also increases. He himself forms his own "team." But the administration will make him and the team personally answerable for the execution of the laws. I want to stress that particularly—personally. Because a law is now being prepared on state service which should rule out the possibility of assessing a worker with a consideration for his political sympathies and antipathies or because of personal loyalty. Only his competence and his attitude toward the job are considered.

[Kornev] What rights does the representative of the RSFSR president have?

[Makharadze] He has no right to interfere directly in the affairs of the administration. But to monitor whether or not its activity accords with the laws and normative acts and the president's decrees is his duty. He supplies information to the monitoring administration. I believe that for the transitional period this approach is justified and essential. Authorities under the control of the law and the law alone will be able to protect democracy and man. However paradoxical my assertion may be, the authorities still have to learn this again and again. For instance, the representatives of the president will not only record violations but also study and analyze the reasons why particular laws and normative acts are not working. In general the entire work of the monitoring administration will be built on a scientific basis. A group of analysts will engage in compiling a chart which I would call the charge of Russia's political-economic temperature. We cannot operate at random. We do not intend to perform merely punitive functions yet that is precisely the meaning firmly entrenched in the word "monitoring." We shall try to contribute to building a rule-of-law state which lives by the laws adopted by democratic means.

At the session of the Volgograd Oblast soviet V. Makharadze set out the powers of the chairman in connection with his appointment to his new post. During the alternative elections then held not a single contender for the free post collected the necessary number of votes. The election of the oblast soviet chairman has been deferred to the next session.

Supreme Soviet's Lukin on Borders, Nuclear Issues

PM1009154591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 91 p 1

[Interview with V.P. Lukin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Committee for International Relations and Foreign Economic Ties, by B. Utekhin: "Our People Abroad Walk Sullenly"—place and date not given]

[Text] Dr. of Sciences Professor Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Committee for International Relations and Foreign Economic Ties. He began his political career as a journalist specializing in international affairs in Prague. In August 1968 he opposed the invasion of Czechoslovakia and was repatriated as being "unreliable." Following B.N. Yeltsin's election as president, he was one of the aspirants to the post of chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

[Utekhin] Our age-old history has accustomed us to feel our great destiny as being of relevance to the fate of other peoples. Will we be able to say goodbye to this feeling?

[Lukin] Ours is a great, thousand-year state, and its disintegration will undoubtedly be painful to endure. There is nothing strange in the fact that numerically large peoples in our outlying districts want to resolve their problems on their own, having lost faith in the possibility of resolving them together. The consequences of this are another matter.

[Utekhin] The problem of borders.

[Lukin] I would prefer us to find the kind of degree of the republics' independence and interdependence—namely, a federal-confederal system or something else—whereby this problem simply would not arise. I hope that it will be possible to do this within the framework of our unified economic and strategic space and to find forms of management that will satisfy everyone. If this does not happen, it will be a very difficult situation. For there exist huge sections of the Russian population which are totally innocent and which live in concentrated groups in other regions. A genuine democrat—if he is a genuine democrat and not a hanger-on—must give priority to human rights rather than to the needs of the new republican nationalist elite. He must not sit somewhere in the capital and get a kick out of all the attributes of independence, including UN membership, etc. In cases where it proves impossible to achieve a favorable combination of interests, let there be referenda. At the same time, I allow the possibility of referenda in Russia, too. In addition, there is a delicate link in the treaty with, let us say, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan between our maintaining relations of alliance and the nonformulation of the borders problem. I would like this situation to be preserved.

[Utekhin] Evidently, this concerns the Baltic region, too? How is Yeltsin's statement about recognizing the independence of these republics to be understood, and does this mean that the borders question has been agreed?

[Lukin] Do you mean the territories annexed after 1940? I believe that, if the population of a particular locality advocates joining the RSFSR or, as in the case there, joining Belorussia, then this must be. This is my personal opinion. I am not against independence, I am saying that this population must not experience any problems from the viewpoint of borders or its contacts with Russia, and their rights must not be infringed. If this is the case, then there is no problem. Therefore definite forms of an alliance or other link are needed.

[Utekhin] In any case, is the question of the absolute transfer of some territory not being raised?

[Lukin] No, it is a question only of the degree of ties which would not cast doubt on the rights of the Russian population. I personally am considerably less interested in borders than in people's destinies.

[Utekhin] Having lost a considerable part of its territory during the breakup of the empire, will Russia not undertake to resolve the territorial conflict with Japan? Maybe a few islands will no longer seem such a significant loss?

[Lukin] This is a very complex problem, and both sides cite a multitude of arguments in their favor. But it is a quite different issue to the republics' secession. If one country very much wants to get part of another country's territory, this is still no reason to give up this territory. The Kuril Islands do not aspire to self-determination. In this case there is a demand for the annexation of territory populated by another nation. This is an historically evolved fact.

[Utekhin] Be that as it may, Russia, even having been deprived of part of the fraternal republics, will all the same remain a great state in terms of territory, resources, and strategic might. In fact, precisely it will personify the former USSR. What burden, what responsibility for the actions of the late Union will it shoulder? Will it, for example, be answerable for the empire's national debts?

[Lukin] The present substitution of Russian structures for Union ones is a temporary and unpleasant phenomenon caused simply by the vital need for day-to-day management of the country. The communique which we signed in Kiev and Alma-Ata and which was the basis of Nazarbayev's statement at the Congress provides for the creation of republic organs of management, which will be coordinated by specially created structures. As regards those republics that leave the Union, the question of debts will be part of an economic agreement. I hope that not one of the republics will proceed from the 1917 Bolshevist principle: Since the old government was bad and ours is good, it was said, we must refuse to pay debts to foreigners. Debts have been divided up among the republics, and there are special settlements....

[Utekhin] In connection with the breakup of the Union would it not make sense to increase the number of UN seats for the republics? Who, after all, will represent the Union in its present form on the Security Council?

[Lukin] This was aired in President Nazarbayev's statement at the Congress. But it seems to me that it is a little early and even somewhat naive to speak of this, as it has not yet been decided whether we have finally become sovereign states or whether we are, after all, some association that can act as a right-holder in international law. In addition, the West still has to get accustomed to this situation of ours. In general, if we speak of this sphere, President Nazarbayev's statement gives rise to more questions than answers. If we are going to be a union and, consequently, a possessor of nuclear weapons and of a unified strategic potential, this union of sovereign states will be represented on the Security Council as a nuclear power. But if it joins the council, then big difficulties will arise over admittance to the United Nations, with the exception, of course, of the Baltic region, which is already recognized by the international community as an independent state which lost independence in 1940.

For the time being it is in the interests of peace for the union of sovereign states or republics to retain its seat on the Security Council. But if a final breakup occurs, the seat will evidently go to the republics that possess nuclear weapons. If Moldova takes on this burden, the seat will go to Moldova.

[Utekhin] What will happen to the Union Foreign Ministry? Will the republic ministers have to ratify the treaties concluded by Pankin or by another minister?

[Lukin] I believe that the Foreign Ministry will, in time, become a coordinating organ, while foreign policy current affairs will be transferred to republic structures. But, all the same, there will remain a number of questions connected with security and with the common military-strategic space. We have arms reduction treaties—all this must be coordinated.

[Utekhin] Who, in your opinion, must have his finger on the button?

[Lukin] It will evidently be Gorbachev for the time being, but, of course, some insurance mechanism must be worked out for all who are in the zone of the Union's military-strategic space. Tactical nuclear weapons are more dangerous and uncontrollable. The consequences of their seizure by any sovereign army could be unpredictable. I believe that they must be moved to Russia. Not because we like this, but I simply cannot see a better solution to this problem now.

[Utekhin] But this means that we will bear all the burdens associated with research into weapons and, chiefly, their testing, does it not?

[Lukin] Of course, it is necessary to seek a complete test ban. To hold talks on this with the United States. To improve technologies and make them safer.

[Utekhin] Vladimir Petrovich, today all Russians, democrats and nondemocrats, and, probably, everyone must have some kind of sad feeling of loss. Do you not have it?

[Lukin] Of course, when it comes down to it, I rejoice. But you are right—I grew up in postwar Shabolovka and was brought up by the country which won the war, by a generation of victors.... I, too, am accustomed to considering a certain part of the world our sphere. You cannot take away this part of my soul, it exists. But, if democracy gains a foothold, the tears will dry up. Take a look at Germany, or Japan, which owned almost one-third of Asia. Have they become less great? Less influential? In what way is Russia worse? Our generation will live with imperial nostalgia, but the chief thing, nonetheless, will be not the scale of the country but the scale of the work.

Silayev, Estonia's Savisaar Hold Trade Talks

LD1209201591 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Today talks between the governments of the Republic of Estonia and the RSFSR opened in Moscow in order to conclude an agreement on economic cooperation and trade in 1992. It was decided that the clearing system will serve as the basis for trade next year. Prices will be established by agreement, taking into account prices at the world market and quality standards. Working groups have been set up in order to work out the bases for relations between the governments on the issues of ownership, finacial relations, and with regard to establishing a customs regime. It was asserted that the parties will mutually observe the 1991 economic agreements.

The fulfilment of the current year's agricultural agreement was also discussed. Taking part in the talks were Edgar Savisaar, prime minister of the Republic of Estonia; Aleksander Sikkal, minister of material resources; RSFSR prime minister Ivan Silayev; Oleg Lobov, his first deputy; and Viktor (?Yaroshenko), foreign economic minister. The talks will continue tomorrow.

Economic Agreement Sought

LD1209164491 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Excerpts] The Estonian and Russian prime ministers discussed the general principles of the two countries' economic relations for the next year during their meeting today in Moscow. Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar said in an interview with the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE that he hopes an agreement will be concluded within the next month or so. [passage omitted]

Assurances were also given that the current year's economic agreement will be adhered to; this will mean that Estonia will get fuel and other similar products from Russia at below-market prices. Neither Russia nor Estonia will resort to import-export taxes with respect to each other, nor increased customs tariffs.

Savisaar and Silayev decided that within a week a joint commission will be set up that will begin to draw up trade, economic, financial, and other agreements for 1992. Separate working groups will be set up to resolve customs issues as well as issues connected with transportation, communications, and power engineering. Corresponding departments will be charged with the task of drawing up a draft border agreement between the two countries by the end of the year.

The parties agreed that they will start work so as not to allow any property of cultural or historic value to be illegally brought into the territory of the other side, and to assist the return of any cultural property that for various reasons has ended up in the other state.

The Estonian prime minister also met Foreign Minister Boris Pankin. After their meeting, Edgar Savisaar told the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE that a joint position was reached on restoring diplomatic relations between the USSR and the Republic of Estonia as soon as possible.

Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar will return to Tallinn today.

Joint Communique Signed

OW1209172191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On September 12 Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and his Russian counterpart Ivan Silayev completed talks by signing a communique on cooperation and a protocol on principles of the future economic agreement for 1992.

In an interview with BF [BALTFAX] Mr. Savisaar pointed out that all previous agreements between the two republics remain in force. In his words, Estonia's new status does not mean that it will change relations with its economic partners.

Mr. Silayev told BF that "we are not going to stop trading and using other forms of cooperation." However, he noted, "now we are trying to establish economic relationship according to world standards."

Speaking about the introduction of world prices and settlings in hard currency, Mr. Silayev said that "we are not fully prepared" for it. "However, in the future we plan to settle only in hard currency," he added.

Details of Protocol

LD1209140191 Moscow TASS in English 1321 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—Having acquired independence, Estonia remains true to its commitments on the 1991 economic agreement with Russia, signed earlier, reads a protocol on inter-governmental relations between the two states.

The protocol was signed here today by Russian and Estonian Prime Ministers Ivan Silayev and Edgar Savisaar.

The document envisages working out an agreement on trade and economic relations for 1992. They will be carried out on clearing or based on prices close to world prices. The document includes issues concerning the Russian-Estonian state border and property.

"I praise the results of talks, as the spirit of good relations was reflected in them," Savisaar said.

Government Seeks Return of Tallin Embassy

LD0609164191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1300 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] We have just received a report that the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Government has filed an application with the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the return of the embassy building on Pik Street, central Tallinn.

The Russian Embassy used to occupy the building which now accomodates the Republican Ministry of Internal Affairs. The house was bought by Soviet Russia's government in 1921. A department of the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that the problem with accomodating the Russian mission seems likely to be solved before this month ends.

Khasbulatov Continues Japan Visit, Views Kurils

Carries 'Positive' Yeltsin Message

LD1109181891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] Today the attention of many observers is being attracted to the Russian delegation in Japan. It is being led by Ruslan Khasbulatov. Khasbulatov has confirmed the fact that Russia relates more positively than before to returning the southern Kuril Islands to Japans. The delegation has brought a special missive to the Japanese prime minister from Boris Yeltsin.

According to our information, if Yeltsin previously said that the return of the islands would take 15-20 years, then now he is saying that this process can be accelerated. [passage omitted]

Kurils Settlement Plan Updated

LD1309112391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0834 GMT 13 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev, in Japan; "Boris Yeltsin's Five-Stage Plan for Settling Territorial Problems With Japan"]

[Text] Tokyo, 13 Sep (TASS)—A five-stage plan for settling the "northern territories" problem—a group of islands in the southern part of the Kuril chain, which were transferred from Japan to the Soviet Union at the end of World War II—was forwarded by Boris Yeltsin in Tokyo in January 1990, when he held the post of USSR Supreme Soviet Questions of Construction and Architecture Committee chairman and was the acknowledged leader of the perestroyka radicalization movement. The plan content can be summarized as follows:

Stage One—The Soviet Union should officially recognize the territorial problem's existence in relations with Japan and should do this either in 1990 or in 1991, during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan. (This stage was essentially realized during the USSR president's visit to Japan in April.)

Stage Two—Declare all the islands a free enterprise zone for Japan, with simplified procedures for travelling there and other most-favored-nation terms, and conclude a treaty between the Russian Federation and Japan. The time frame for the second stage is three to five years after implementing the first stage. (In a sense, the idea of visa-free visits to the "northern territories" by Japanese citizens, forwarded by the Soviet side during M.S. Gorbachev's visit, fits into this stage.)

Stage Three—Demilitarize the islands. B.N. Yeltsin says that "this probably cannot be done quickly, since the islands belong to our military men rather than to our state."

Stage Four—Conclude a peace treaty to help solve the territorial problem.

B.N. Yeltsin feels that 15-20 years may be needed for the first four stages.

Stage Five—Successive generations will determine this, B.N. Yeltsin noted. Yeltsin says this will not be the end of the matter, bearing in mind that ways of thinking and political culture will change, that there will be great world changes from the view of guaranteeing mutual security and developing our relations, and that better understanding and a change in public opinion in both countries will occur. Perhaps then the next generation will come up with some extraordinary solution. Three options can be postulated, let us say: first, with the islands under a joint protectorate of the USSR and Japan; second, with the islands independent and with free status; and third, not excluding the possible transfer of the islands to Japan. This will be examined and decided by the next generation.

The Russian president's personal note to Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, handed over on 9 September by Acting RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, reflected the qualitative changes in the previous position which aim to reduce the length of the stages of a settlement, considering the dynamic development of the situation and present-day conditions.

Insofar as B.N. Yeltsin's five-stage plan originally evoked a rather cool reaction from Tokyo, the TASS correspondent asked a Japanese Foreign Ministry executive how the Japanese Government perceives this plan today. The diplomat, who asked to remain anonymous, declined to comment on the five-stage plan itself, while at the same time he welcomed the Russian leadership's intention not to pass the peace treaty conclusion on to a successive generation.

Comments on Japanese Aid

LD1209210691 Moscow TASS in English 2034 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Tokyo September 12 TASS—Russia expects to get not hundreds of millions, but billions of dollars in aid from Japan, acting Russian parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, who heads a Russian parliamentary delegation currently visiting here, told a news conference in Tokyo on Thursday.

He stressed the aid will be returned, because Russia is potentially the richest country in the world. Large-scale urgent economic assistance to Russia is needed precisely now, when its own economic reform has not yet yielded tangible results. This aid is very much needed now to support the population, Khasbulatov said.

Russia is determined to sign a peace treaty and settle all existing problems with Japan, including the territorial dispute, Khasbulatov said.

"The Russian leadership has recognised from the very beginning the presence of a territorial issue in relations with Japan. Now that we are in power, we will get down to this problem and intend to settle it," Khasbulatov said.

Outlining the basic principles of Russia's policy vis-a-vis Japan, Khasbulatov noted that Russia is an independent subject of international relations and intends to independently develop its relations with all the closest neighbours, primarily Japan. He reaffirmed Russia's desire to accelerate the normalisation of relations with Japan.

"We cannot base our relations on the outdated reactionary doctrine, which divided countries into winners and losers in the Second World War. This doctrine is humiliating not only for the Japanese people but also for the peoples of Russia. We have proclaimed that our relations will be based on international law, generally recognised notions of justice, respect for each other, equality and especially good neighbourliness," Khasbulatov said.

"We face a very difficult task. Old stereotypes still dominate the public opinion in Russia. These stereotypes say that any territorial concession is a sale of national interests. All this was fueled by party ideological doctrines. We would like to fight these stereotypes together and win the public opinion over to our side to establish fair relations with the Japanese people," Khasbulatov said.

Aid Conditioned on Settlement

LD1009185291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 10 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Japan has just announced that it will not give extensive economic aid to Moscow until the territorial dispute is settled. In its turn, a Russian delegation headed by Ruslan Khasbulatov which is in Japan at present has expressed a supposition that Tokyo's financial aid could lead to the return of the South Kuril islands.

Finally, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy has just stated in his interview to a Japanese newspaper that the Soviet Union should return the Northern Territories to Japan.

Calls For Peace Treaty

LD1109124591 Moscow TASS in English 1047 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Vasiliy Golovnin and Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo September 11 TASS—Russia's desire to sign a peace treaty with Japan as soon as possible was confirmed here today by Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of Russia's Supreme Soviet.

Khasbulatov is leading a delegation from Russia's parliament on a five-day visit to Japan at the invitation of the Liberal Democratic Party of that country.

Today, the delegation, including chairman of the Russian parliament's Committee for Economic Reform and Ownership Sergey Krasavchenko, Chairman of the Russian parliament Presidium Culture Commission Fedor Polenov and Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze, met in Tokyo with Japanese Foreign Ministry officials and leading Liberal Democratic politicians.

During the conversation with Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Kunihiko Saito, Khasbulatov stressed Russia's determination to remove obstacles impeding the signing of a peace treaty, including the settlement of the territorial issue. Touching on internal political and economic problems, he said Russia wants to create a state structure free from ideological pressure, a political system based on principles of democracy and a multi-party system, an economy based on the right to own property.

The delegation head reiterated the Russian leadership's commitment to the preservation of the Soviet Union, the post of the president of the USSR and the union government or central administration in one form or another.

Along with this, he stressed the growing influence exercised by Russia.

Saito, who met President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin during his recent visit to the Soviet Union, praised the Russian leadership's approach to relations with Japan. He welcomed the intention, voiced by Khasbulatov, to expedite the signing of a peace treaty with Japan, Russia's rejection of the approach in keeping with which relations between the two countries were built as relations between the winner and the loser, as well as the Russian people's desire to act proceeding from principles of justice and legality.

Tokyo, according to Saito, will make every effort to radically improve Soviet-Japanese relations based on the solution of the problem of the Northern Territories and the conclusion of a peace treaty.

Bilateral relations were discussed during talks between the Russian delegation and leading Liberal Democratic politicians Kiiti Miyadzawa, Toshio Komoto and Shino Kanemaru.

Miyadzawa, who said a few days ago he would run for the prime ministerial post, displayed a positive approach to rendering technological assistance to Russia in developing its energy resources.

Also today, the Russian parliamentary delegation left on a brief visit to the city of Osaka, where they are expected to meet representatives of the Kansai region business community.

Ends Visit 13 Sep, Departs

LD1309055391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0351 GMT 13 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo, 13 Sep (TASS)—The delegation of Russian deputies headed by Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, has left for Moscow today on a scheduled Aeroflot flight after completing a visit to Japan. In the course of the five-day stay in Japan, the delegation, which also included Sergey Krasavchenko, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Economic Reform and Ownership; Fedor Polenov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Culture; and Georgiy Kunadze, RSFSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, met with leaders of the Japanese Diet, the government, the right-wing Liberal Democratic Party and the opposition, and big businessmen.

R.I. Khasbulatov handed Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu a personal message from RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin setting out the main principles of the Russian leadership's approach to relations with Japan. In particular, the message reflects qualitative changes from Russia's earlier position, aimed at shortening the time needed to settle the territorial problem, as proposed by B.N. Yeltsin in January last year. The head of the Russian delegation has asked the Japanese leaders to grant a request for large-scale emergency economic aid to Russia, worth billions of dollars.

Moscow Mayor Reportedly Suffering Heart Condition

LD1209152391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1448 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)—Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov is in a pre-heart-attack [predinfarktnyy] condition. He reported this himself to a TASS correspondent today.

The mayor of the Soviet capital looked very tired after today's meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker at the Moscow City Soviet. Asked by the correspondent to talk about the conversation that had taken place, Gavriil Popov said: "I am in a pre-heart-attack condition," and declined to comment at all.

One of those accompanying the mayor noted meanwhile that Gavriil Popov "has cancelled a trip abroad" on health grounds.

Mayor's Bill on Moscow's Status Rejected

OW1209175791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Thursday's session of the Moscow City Council (MosSoviet) turned down the mayor's version of a bill on Moscow's status as capital of the Russian Federation, and suggested basing the future work on the bill's version prepared by a group of MosSoviet deputies led by Gaik Zulumyan.

The session passed a resolution instructing the working group to finish the bill and submit it for discussion to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet.

IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent reports that the two drafts are essentially different. Under the one prepared by the Zulumyan group, the RSFSR laws will be in full effect on the city's territory, whereas the mayor's version allows for certain clippings and amendments.

Another major difference concerns the appointment of the division into 33 districts; the Mayor's Office insists on the newly adopted system of prefectures and municipalities.

Militia, Internal Affairs Ministry Appointments

Debate Over Komissarov's Candidacy

PM1209155691 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by Sergey Nagayev from RIA-TASS "News" column: "Now the Mayor Objects"]

[Text] A rally was held in Moscow's Sovetskaya Square in support of V. Komissarov's candidacy for the post of chief of the capital's militia.

It is well known that the Mossovet [Moscow City Soviet] session appointed this general as chief of the Moscow City Internal Affairs Administration as long ago as 23 January of this year. For a long time he could not assume his duties "thanks to" the active opposition of the then Union structures. In response, Mossovet people's deputies declared a hunger strike, which ended 6 April—on that day RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Internal Affairs Minister V. Barannikov issued an order appointing Komissarov. Nonetheless the USSR MVD [Internal Affairs Ministry] ignored that order, too...

After the putsch, when you would think that no obstacles to this long-suffering appointment could remain, all of a sudden someone else objected to Komissarov as chief of the Moscow militia.... Mayor G. Popov himself, and so the deputies declared another hunger strike.

In an interview for ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's correspondent Mossovet People's Deputy V. Kuzin stated that the various levels of apparatchiks and nomenklatura, who have dressed up as democrats but still distribute housing and other benefits for bribes and in despite of the law, are simply afraid of Komissarov, who is a principled militia staffer.

The rally, which gathered a public of approximately 2,000, was addressed by Mossovet Deputies Yu. Sedykh-Bondarenko and S. Belozertsev, Russian People's Deputy S. Yushenkov, and other deputies, as well as V. Novodvorskaya. At the end of the rally the "hero of the evening" himself—V. Komissarov—who was present among the crowd, was dragged, so to speak, onto the improvised platform. In a short speech of thanks the general assured Muscovites that if he ever does become head of the capital's militia, he will do everything possible to ensure law and order and the rule of law.

Murashov To Head MVD

LD1209222791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] At the Republican Coordination Council of Democratic Russia, which is holding a session in the building of the Moscow Soviet, Arkadiy Murashov, a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, stated this evening: Gavriil Popov has proposed that I should become the head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] for Moscow and Moscow Oblast. Several hours of conversation with RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] MVD Minister Barannikov, resulted in my agreeing. I accept this proposal as a member of the Coordination Council of Democratic Russia, proceeding from the conviction that professionals will not be able to change anything in the MVD.

Arkadiy Murashov has promised that the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] will never be deployed against the people, and that the Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Directorate will cease its gangster actions against members of cooperatives and entrepreneurs—this organisation will simply be dissolved.

In his opinion, General Komissarov, in support of whom the Moscow soviet deputies went on a hunger strike demanding his appointment to the MVD post, will hardly be able to make drastic changes in the MVD structure. Clearly, he would be always guided in his actions by career motives, stated Arkadiy Murashov.

Deputies Contine Hunger Strike

OW0909211291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Several deputies of Moscow City Soviet (Moscow City Council), who are in the 6th day of their hunger-strike pressing the demand for compliance with the January 23 Moscow City Soviet resolution appointing Gen. Vyacheslav Komissarov to the post of chief of the Moscow police, held a news conference at the City Council on Monday.

Mr. Valeriy Ikishcheli said Sunday's meeting of Democratic Russia activists had heard "provocative statements" addressed personally to the hunger strikers, and criticism of their plan to met with electors in Moscow's Sovetskaya Square at 18:00 on Tuesday.

Deputy head of the Moscow City Soviet, Mr. Yuri Sedykh-Bondarenko, censured the policy pursued by the Moscow leaders. He accused the Mayor, Mr. Gavriil Popov, of "illegally distributing housing among ousted bureaucrats" and of other serious malpractices, including his opposition to the city police chief.

Moscow City Soviet Deputy Viktor Kuzin said that Mr. Popov and the Vice- Mayor of Moscow, Mr. Luzhkov, "object to Gen. Komissarov's candidacy because they are seeking undivided authority in the area of privatization."

Arming of Yeltsin's Representatives Questioned

PM1209103391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Report by V. Troshin: "Coordinator with a Pistol"]

[Text] Novosibirsk—A. Manokhin, an RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] presidential representative, has appealed to the Novosibirsk Oblast Internal Affairs Administration. He asked to be given... a personal weapon. While the internal affairs administration officials were racking their brains about what to do, some higher-ranking officials decided for them. An instruction came from RSFSR deputy minister of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Dunayev, under which militia employees must not only ensure the safety of the Russian president's representatives but also supply them with authorized personal weapons.

You wonder why A. Manokhin needs a weapon if he was appointed, as is written in the RSFSR presidential decree, "...with the aim of coordinating the activity of RSFSR, kray, and oblast organs of executive power." You will agree that coordinating something with pistol in hand in our times is ridiculous, to say the least. Apparently there is a different intention here. By arming the representatives, we will ensure that they have more reliable personal safety. But against whom are we protecting them? Against the people who have just confirmed their commitment to freedom and democracy?

DPRC To Drop 'Communist' Element From Name

LD1209221691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Sep 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Democratic Party of Russian Communists intends to become a party of leftist orientation. A party statement says that now the need to retain the word communist has disappeared.

DPRC Issues Statement on Georgian Situation

LD1209170591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0823 GMT 12 Sep 91

["Statement by the Board of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia on the Situation in Russia"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep—The situation emerging in Georgia is causing serious alarm. This is expressed in a statement disseminated by the board of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia [DPCR].

While not jeopardizing the right of the peoples populating this sovereign state to independently determine the direction of their development, of their form of state structure, and of their leaders, we, the document states, cannot be indifferent toward incidents where force has been applied in order to resolve disputed political problems, toward the suppression of dissidents, toward the limitation of civil freedoms, and toward discrimination on grounds of nationality, wherever they might take place.

The board of the DPCR calls on the leaders of the Republic of Georgia to give thought to their responsibility, not only for the fate of their own people, but also for the reputation of the Eurasian democracy which is coming into being. It also calls upon the Georgian opposition and national forces in South Ossetia, Abkhazia, and Adzharia to renounce violent methods of struggle, and to strictly observe the law.

Interethnic Land Dispute in Daghestan Republic

LD1009221491 Moscow TASS in English 2150 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Makhachkala September 11 TASS—A situation in the Kazbek region of the Dagestan Republic has deteriorated.

Several thousands of ethnic Avars and Chechens flooded streets of the Leninaul settlement calling for a just soltution of their dispute over the resolution of the local council on the allocation of land lots for the construction of housing.

Reinforced militia units have been pulled to the settlement. They control the situation. Members of the republican government, people's deputies and elders speak before the rally.

The rally has been told that all disputable issues on this territory will be settled during this September.

Reports Continue on Chechen-Ingush Events

Khasbulatov Hails Democratic 'Victory'

LD1109164291 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev and Vitaliy Dzhibutiy]

[Text] Groznyy September 11 TASS—Russian parliament leader Ruslan Khasbulatov has called on his compatriots, residents of his homeland in the Chechen-and-Ingushi republic, to refrain from staging mass rallies and avert clashes and conflicts.

In his telegram, published by the local press today, Khasbulatov described the events in Groznyy as "the victory of democratic forces over the party bureacracy withdrawing from the stage."

Khasbulatov said the priority tasks on the agenda were strengthening authority structures, reestablishing public order and organizing an effective economy.

The situation in the republic remains largely uncertain. The Supreme Soviet dissolved on September 6 and its head, Doku Zavgayev, have not admitted their defeat although they are unable to control the situation any longer.

A commission of the Russian parliament has arrived on a fact-finding mission in Groznyy, the capital of the Checheno-Ingushi Republic.

Khasbulatov To Visit Groznyy

OW1209062991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Our task is to inform the Chechen-Ingush public of the RSFSR leadership's attitude to the socio-political situation in Russia and to see what's going on here in Checheno-Ingushetia," said Mikhail Poltoranin, the RSFSR Media Minister, in his interview for IF [INTERFAX] on Wednesday. Together with the RSFSR State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis and the head of the Russian parliament's Commission on Ethnic Affairs Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev, Mr. Poltoranin is on an official mission in Groznyy, capital of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic.

He said his delegation was scheduled to meet with the leadership of the National Chechen Congress headed by Djokhar Dudayev, and with labor staffs. "We will not try to impose our views (with regard to the conflict in Checheno-Ingushetia—IF) on anyone; our function is to promote mutual understanding by all available means," M. Poltoranin said.

Meanwhile, IF's correspondent has reported that the acting head of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, Mr. Ruslan Khasbulatov, sent the Chechen-Ingush leaders a telegram saying, in part, that "At long last the political situation is favorable for removing the evident and secret obstacles built up in the way of the republic's prodemocracy work by the outgoing party bureaucracy. ...I hope our people will be wise enough not to allow street rally passions to grow into inter-ethnic conflicts."

Reliable sources say Mr. Khasbulatov is expected to arrive in Groznyy on Saturday.

Efforts Underway To Solve Crisis

LD1209150291 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT 12 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Sharip Asuyev and Vitaliy Dzhibutiy]

[Text] Groznyy September 12 TASS—The social and political situation in Checheno-Ingushetia remains tense. Stormy meetings, which began on August 22, are continuing to this day. It has brought about a real crisis of power.

The republic's parliament, dispersed on September 6, is inactive, and power is exercised by the executive committee of the Chechen People's National Congress, uniting the republic's democratic forces. Observation posts have been set up on the borders between Checheno-Ingushetia and adjacent republics by decision of the executive committee of the Chechen congress to prevent aby uncontrolled export of goods and equipment from the republic and to trace any possible troops movements.

It has been learned that former chairman of the Grozny city council, people's deputy of Checheno-Ingushetia, 53-year-old Vitaly Kutsenko has died in hospital. As earlier reported, he was gravely wounded during the assault on the parliament building. A Russian parliamentary commission, dispatched to Grozny by the president of the Russian Federation and headed by Gennady Burbulis, is continuing its work in the capital of Checheno-Ingushetia. Commission members are meeting work collectives, intellectuals, Checheno-Ingushetian people's deputies and leaders of the national movement. Efforts are being made to find lawful ways to overcome the crisis.

Leadership Change Assessed

PM1209150191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 91 p 2

[Report by S. Bartnikas: "Groznyy: Revolution Peaceful So Far"]

[Text] Groznyy-Moscow—The revolution in Chechen-Ingushetia has taken a month. The planning took much longer.

Opposition to the republic's supreme authority and its chairman had long been brewing. The Executive Committee of the Chechen Congress, which was joined last year by the Vaynakh Democratic Party, the Islamic Path movement, the "Greens," the "Caucasus" society, and others, very quickly became a highly influential political force in the republic. It immediately began demanding the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet, since the latter obdurately refused to recognize the idea of sovereignty. People gathered in cellars and published newspapers and pamphlets in the Baltic and Georgia. Despite arrests and constant persecution, the executive committee drew up 27 basic documents which were to legally enact the sovereign and democratic state. Parliament passed not a single one of those documents.

On 19 August, when the decrees of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency) were posted up in the city and parliament sat tight and kept mum, Z. Yanderbiyev, deputy chairman of the executive commitee, and I. Arsemikov, member of the presidium, were arrested on Freedom Square for urging the assembled people to embark on open armed revolt.

On 21 August the republic parliament came to its senses and passed a resolution condemning the SCSE. But it was too late. Freedom Square was filled by the people. Barricades were built. The "national guard" was mustered. Supreme Soviet Chairman Zavgayev was asked to leave in peace. He refused. He appeared on television and urged the Russian population of the republic to resist the plotters because they were nationalists. The television and radio centers had to be seized and the Russians and everyone else told that this was not so. Russians also began joining the "nationalists" on the square.

Then the long-awaited resignation occurred.

The revolution was bloodless. The militia could not act against the people and steered a middle course. The Army likewise. Zavgayev could not send the tanks in against the crowd, although he threatened this daily. People could not make an attempt upon the life of Zavgayev.

This, however, had nothing to do with the good sense and restraint of the sides. Every Chechen knows that if one of his kin (clan) insults a neighbor, a blood feud will ensue. Zavgayev knew that if tanks appeared on the square and blood was spilt, Zavgayev's kin would be unable to live in the country. In both a metaphorical and, awful though it is, a literal sense. There was therefore no bloodshed. Although if the conflict had gone on longer, there might have been all too much blood.

The revolution in Groznyy was unique in that a military man has come to power. It is difficult to say whether this is due to the traditions of Chechen democracy, which in former times were based on honor and weapons, rather than institutions of power. At any rate the republic clearly needed a resolute, tough, but also pretty forbearing person. I have been told this by many people.

The new leader has not yet been legally elected by anyone. But his popularity is indisputable. Retired General Dzhokhar Dudayev, chairman of the Chechen Congress Executive Committee, is 46. He is a member of the CPSU, but considers that he did far more for the party than it did for him. He graduated in mathematical physics and then attended Tambov Aviation College and flying school. He was until recently commander of an aviation division stationed in Estonia. Last year at the Chechen Congress he was asked to head the executive committee.

[Text] The first short steps taken by the new provisional power were to transfer the House of Political Enlightenment to the Islamic Institute the day after the assault, and it is perfectly possible that a monument to Khrushchev will replace that of Lenin on Sheykh Mansur Square. He returned the Chechens to their homeland....

What next?

"The old Council of Ministers will continue its work for the time being—closing it down would mean burying ourselves," General Dudayev told me. "We will create a provisional committee onto which we will invite specialists from Moscow and possibly from abroad, too, and which will have to draw up and adopt a constitution, laws on a referendum, citizenship, presidential rule, the activity of parliament and congress, and a statute on presidential candidates prior to the election of the republic president. The election of the head of state will then take place. It will also be necessary to consider creating a parallel congress based on national traditions and to revise the status of people's deputy (it is virtually impossible to recall them)."

Dudayev's greatest fear is that a new totalitarian system could develop out of the prevailing dictatorship of the proletariat. That Russians will start leaving Chechen-Ingushetia. He regards this as a tragedy.

"When someone of any nationality cannot be free, it is time to say that the building of a democratic society has failed...."

...I did not sense nationalism in Groznyy. "National guardsmen" escorted me to my hotel, entered my room first, and gave it a thorough inspection. Only then, when they found no mines, parcel bombs, or any other disagreeable items, did they leave. Each name in my notebook is followed by an address. It was suggested that I return as soon as everything has been put straight: We will show you the ravines and the countryside, it is so beautiful.... But my departure from Groznyy was altogether unexpected. I took a night flight. It was announced at a rally that the Moscow correspondent must be taken to the airport. Who wanted this? Around 20 hands went up....

I do not regard this revolution as the revolution of a single nationality, because I saw Ingushes dancing on the square and heard Russians singing.

I do not think that everything is over. The people are still not dispersing from the square. The barricades are not being dismantled. It is said that an aggrieved Zavgayev has gone to Moscow to seek the truth.

But even if everything is over soon and people return to their homes to rest and build a new life, this does not mean that Freedom Square will be deserted for ever. One speaker at a rally said that the square could fill up again at any moment. Only one thing is required—if the new authorities deceive the people.

Moscow Soviet To Remove Marx, Engels Statues

LD1309061591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A commission of experts at the Moscow soviet is continuing work on memorials in Moscow. According to RIA news agency, it has already been decided to remove the memorial to Karl Marx from Theater Square and the memorial to Friedrich Engels from Kropotkin Street. The commission also feels that political sculptures should disappear from all educational establishments. But the experts want to leave the memorial to Lenin by the Oktyabrskaya Metro station where it is, so as not to destroy the architectural style of "militia classicism", as they put it, which imbues the entire square.

Communists of Russia Coordinator Speaks on CPSU

OW1009130691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1100 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "An enemy image should not be extended to the entire Communist Party," Ivan Rybkin, people's deputy and coordinator of the Communists of Russia group in the Russian Parliament, has told our correspondent. Until this year Mr. Rybkin was second secretary in the Volgograd regional committee of the CPSU, and last January he became head of the department for contacts with Soviets of People's Deputies in the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.

According to Mr. Rybkin, the party had recently begun to get rid of some of its "bigoted, dyed-in-the-wool attitudes", but the process was interrupted by the events of August 19-22, which he described as a "bitter lesson". He added that "if we are allowed to call a plenary meeting we shall have to set up an organizing committee for the radical reformation of the party". Back in July, he said, he gave an interview to the newspaper Volgogradskaya Pravda in which he said he considered Aleksandr Yakovlev, Eduard Shevardnadze and Mikhail Gorbachev the "intellectual nucleus of the party regardless of what their political careers will be in future". Mr. Rybkin said he had been criticized by party bureaucrats for this and other statements, but that many members of the Communists of Russia group held the same views as he did.

Reports on Takeover of CPSU Buildings

Luzhkov Suspends Accommodation

LD1209165591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1300 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] According to a report from the RIA news agency, Yuriy Luzhkov, prime minister of the government of Moscow, has signed an order suspending the allocation of accomodation to the CPSU Central Committee and the Moscow City Party Committee in houses being built by them or in which they are partially involved. The same order annuls the money indebtedness of the government of Moscow to the CPSU Central Committee and the Moscow City Party Committee for partial involvement in housing construction.

Government Moves Into Building

LD1209221891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] As from today, Russia's Government has begun moving into a new address—Moscow, Staraya Ploshchad.

Until recently the supreme leadership of the CPSU was situated here. Russia's foreign minister has occupied the room of a former Central Committee secretary.

An interesting coincidence: the third entrance to the building, in which staff members of Russia's Foreign Minstry are now working, previously belonged to the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

Russian Offical on Party, KGB Archives

PM1109135791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 91 p 2

[Report by D. Babich: "Party Consigned to Archives"]

[Text] A news conference of the Archives Committee under the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers was held in the former Central Committee building on Staraya Square yesterday.

At the news conference Russian Archive Chairman Rudolf Pikhoya told journalists that access to the documents will be opened up only in three months' time.

The fate of the KGB archives is not yet clear. According to R. Pikhoya, the Russian Archive is opposed to their full opening up, reckoning that this will set against the Russian Government an entire army of people recruited earlier by the KGB. It is proposed to open up only old documents after establishing a "prohibited time" (an archive term for the period when documents must not be revealed) of 30 years.

Upcoming RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session Eyed

PM1209142491 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Sep 91 p 3

[Feature from "Letters to the Editor" column comprising letter from Vladimir Isakov, chairman of the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic, under the heading "Please Bring to Your Readers' Notice," plus Aleksandr Linkov commentary under the rubric "Clarification Needed" and the heading "Onto a 'Constitutional Footing,' or... Your Knees"]

[Text]

Please Bring to Your Readers' Notice

[Isakov letter] In its account of the chronicle of the tragic days of the coup your newspaper misrepresented my stance at the 19 August emergency session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium. I stated in my speech that the actions of the so-called "union leadership" are unconstitutional and that we are the constitutional authority and must act as a constitutional authority, and called for the legal mechanism for resolving the conflict to be set in motion first of all, rather than risking people's lives first. That was my stance at the session, and today I have no reason to be ashamed of it. Recent events—the complications in relations between republics, the de facto disintegration of the USSR—show that this view was not only entitled to exist, but may have been the only correct view.

As for the convening of an emergency session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, what I said, verbatim, was this: "I believe that in the prevailing situation Russia's highest organs of power should be convened. Firstly, of course, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. But the situation that has arisen is constitutional in nature. Why are we once again excluding the Congress of People's Deputies? I am not saying that the Congress should be convened tomorrow in this very heated situation. But I am in favor of commencing preparations for a Congress of People's Deputies."

The allegation that I came out against urgently convening a session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet thus has nothing in common with reality. Please bring this information to your readers' notice.

[Signed] Vladimir Isakov,

Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic, RSFSR people's deputy.

Onto a "Constitutional Footing," or... Your Knees

That was the letter that the editorial office received from V. Isakov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic. We are publishing it in full, down to the very last comma. So that Vladimir Borisovich will not suspect the editorial office again of misrepresenting his position as set forth in the letter.

But something else is worrying. A person who is vested with great official powers and holds a high state office should act accordingly in an emergency. Returning to the August days of the putsch, we can say today that Russia's leadership did indeed act in that way by openly calling the criminals criminals. What did you propose, Vladimir Borisovich, in this situation? At the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session you said (we quote the stenographic record of the session): "...But it seems to me that the worst way to act in this situation is to bring the people out into the streets, to incite the hysteria that we are currently trying to incite—to appeal to the people to strike. We are the constitutional authority and should realize that we are the constitutional authority, nobody is taking that away from us....

"In this situation it is necessary to show the utmost restraint and not drag people out into the streets, not call for strikes. I therefore believe that the Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviet Presidium should publish a more restrained statement, not using words like 'putsch.' This statement should state quite clearly that the actions of the union leadership overstep the bounds of the constitution...."

We hear you calling for restraint and prudence, saying that it is necessary to "...put the situation that has arisen onto a constitutional footing." I do not know what footing those who tried to accomplish the coup would have put V. Isakov and the rest of us on. Most likely they would have brought us to our knees. Which is where the majority of us were for decades, silently accepting whatever the top strata did. Muscovites, people from the Moscow region, and guests of the capital came to the White House on the morning of 19 August to protect you personally, Vladimir Borisovich, among others, and to defend their own freedom and yours, maybe even at the cost of their lives. If you had succeeded in persuading the Supreme Soviet not to adopt those decisions on that day, the people would have taken to the streets all the same. They would have taken to the streets in order to say "no" to the kind of supreme authority that can silently look on while lawlessness is perpetrated. But the president did not betray his people, just as the people did not betray the president. Incidentally, you doubted, Vladimir Borisovich, that the people's deputies would support B.N. Yeltsin: "...I will say frankly, Ruslan Imranovich [Khasbulatov], I sense your reluctance to convene a Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies. Indeed, if a congress were convened now, in this situation—that of confrontation between the Union and Russian leadership—I am not sure whom the congress would support here. Because, just as I do not see the Union Congress supporting its president in this situation, so I have no confidence that the Russian Congress will support the Russian president who brought the situation to this point.... I have no confidence."

The past days have sorted everything out. Although there is still much that has to be studied. The necessary amendments must be made to the laws in order to prevent a repetition of anything like the August events. The republic constitution which you always cite so energetically also needs amendments. I do not dispute that Vladimir Borisovich's civic stance deserves respect. But there are also moral principles which people in the civilized world follow. Here how can I help recalling, Vladimir Borisovich, the session of the Soviet of the Republic at which they expressed no confidence in you and your deputy A. Veshnyakov? Veshnyakov resigned that evening. You, Vladimir Borisovich, promised, with an inscrutable face: You, too, will resign, only let those members of the chamber who are present carry out a secret ballot in accordance with standing orders: An electronic vote of no confidence does not count, you said. The session was broken off. They never returned to the vote. You stayed in your post. Whom and what are you protecting, Vladimir Borisovich?

Media

Decree Revokes Ban on PRAVDA, Other Papers

LD1209175391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1720 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)—A decree issued by RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin, "on measures for the protection of freedom of the press in the RSFSR," was published today. It acknowledges as being defunct one of the articles of the Russian president's decree of 22 August, which provides for the provisional suspension of the newspapers: PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, GLASNOST, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, and LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA. These newspapers, the document points out, have been registered by the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media as independent publications.

The RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media is required to ensure the full restoration of the principle of freedom of the press and the adoption of measures provided for by legislation against organizations and individuals infringing the USSR law "On the press and other mass media".

With the purpose of monitoring compliance with the legislation of the RSFSR and the USSR on the press and mass media, a state inspection body will be formed for the protection of the press and mass media within the RSFSR Ministry for the Press and Mass Media.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers is required, within a period of 10 days, to adopt measures for the protection of the publishing business and the mass media in conditions of the transition to market relations, and to solve other questions arising from the present decree.

Provincial Broadcasting Chiefs Sacked in RSFSR

LD1209172191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] We have just received the text of an order issued by Mikhail Poltoranin, the RSFSR Minister for the Press and Mass Media. Dmitriy Ilyich Pukhov, Chairman of the Yakut-Sakha State Committee for TV and Radio Broadcasting; Yevgeniy Pavlovich Makeyev, the Chairman of Amur Oblast Soviet Committee [for TV and Radio Broadcasting]; Viktor Petrovich Komarov, Chairman of the Committee for TV and Radio Broadcasting of the Irkutsk Oblast Soviet; Vladimir Sergeyevich Petrenko, Chairman of the Committee for TV and Radio Broadcasting of the Altay Oblast Soviet; Vladimir Fedorovich Menyayev, Chairman of the Rostov Oblast Soviet's Committee for TV and Radio Broadcasting; Olga Yakovlevna Kolesnichenko, Chairman of the Committee for TV and Radio Broadcasting of Krasnodar Kray Executive Committee; and Anatoliy Pavlovich Zodva, Chairman of the Committee for TV and Radio Broadcasting of Saratov Oblast Soviet, have been dismissed for supporting the unconstitutional activities of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency. We congratulate them on this and continue our bulletin.

Belorussia

Poland Recognizes Belorussian Independence

OW1309010991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2130 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Senate of the Republic of Poland has recognized Belorussia's independence.

It issued a statement saying, in part, that "the Poles, who have always treasured freedom and state independence most of all, can understand particularly well what independence means to the neighboring Belorussian people."

The Polish Senate believes that the attainment of democracy opens to Belorussia new prospects of cooperation between the nations of Eastern and Central Europe.

The Senate is hoping that Poland and Belorussia will work to promote their traditional friendship and mutually beneficial relations.

"We are confident that the rights of the Polish minority in Belorussia will be guaranteed in compliance with the international norms," says the statement.

Kebich Discusses Investment With South Koreans

LD1209195191 Moscow TASS in English 1711 GMT 11 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Yegorov]

[Text] Tokyo September 11 TASS—Belorussia's Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich on Tuesday [10 September] called on leading representatives of the South Korean business community, assembled in the headquarters of the Federation of South Korean Industrialists for a seminar devoted to the visit of the Belorussian Government delegation to Seoul, to step up mutually beneficial economic cooperation between Belorussia and the Republic of Korea.

Addressing 200 business people, the head of the Belorussian Government described in detail the present situation in the Soviet Union where the focus of trade and economic activity is notably shifting to sovereign republics.

He indicated possible spheres for foreign investments into the republic's economy which needs above all assistance in upgrading enterprises producing consumer goods, including synthetic foods, packing and building materials, cars and medical equipment and preparations used in cleaning up the consequences of the Chernobyl accident.

According to Kebich, the present situation offers good opportunities for cooperation because the active conversion of a number of the republic's defence enterprises to peaceful production has released considerable production facilities, skilled workers and resources.

The seminar, attended by Belorussia's Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko and Chairman of the State Committee for Belorussia's Foreign Economic Relations Vladimir Radkevich, also discussed the possibility of opening offices of a number of Korean firms in Belorussia.

Belorussian delegation members told TASS that a group of South Korean businessmen was expected to visit the republic's capital of Minsk and a number of industrial enterprises in Grodno, Gomel, Mogilev and other cities of Belorussia at the end of September.

On the same day, talks were held between the Belorussian prime minister and Korean Deputy Premier Choe Ho-chung on a wide range of problems which are to find reflection in the forthcoming agreement on economic cooperation between Belorussia and South Korea.

Long-Term Loan Agreement Signed With Germany

LD1309012691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0400 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] An accord has been signed providing Belorussia with credits of 1 million German marks. In accordance with the document, a long-term target credit will be given to the republic by a group of German firms in the form of equipment and technology in the areas of agriculture, processing, light, and chemical industries. The credit repayment is scheduled over 12 years at 7.5-10 percent annual interest.

Ukraine

Kravchuk Instructions on Military Redeployment

LD1209170691 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, has issued instructions on the order to redeploy military formations and military educational establishments on the territory of Ukraine and outside its borders.

According to the 24 June 1991 resolution of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet on military formations in Ukraine, the redeployment of all military formations and military educational establishments on the territory of Ukraine and outside the borders of Ukraine, and the export of military machinery, armament systems, and military equipment are not to be carried out without the agreement of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers. The redeployment of military formations within the borders of Ukraine and from military units stationed in other regions to the territory of Ukraine should not be carried out without the agreement of the Cabinet of Ministers.

The implementation of these instructions is the responsibility of the Ukraine Ministry of Defense, Committee for State Security, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Commission of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet for Issues of Defense and State Security.

Morozov on Need for Republican Armed Forces

LD1209225191 Kiev Radio Kiev in English
0000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Ukraine's Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov and the USSR defense minister and also representatives of sovereign republics began consultations. They actively search for ways of carrying out radical changes in the army.

Before his departure to Moscow, Major General of the Air Force Konstantin Morozov told the journalists that he comes out for the reduction of a certain part of the USSR Armed Forces stationed in Ukraine. In the opinion of Morozov, Ukraine needs its own armed forces formed on the principles of reasonable sufficiency, professionalism, and new structural composition. Ukraine's armed forces will be departicised and the republic will become a nuclear-free zone. The army of the republic will interact with the Union army during the transitional period only.

Meanwhile, at the standing commissions of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, they are completing the drafting of the law on the republic's guard.

Conference on Forming Republican Armed Forces

LD1009005391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2047 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Report by correspondent Mikhail Osokin; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] In Russia, the Shield [Shchit] union has started a campaign to recruit volunteers for the Russian National Guard. According to the MEGAPOLIS EKSPRESS newspaper, Russia's armed forces will be directly subordinate to the republic's defense minister.

The intention is to form eight brigades, which will be stationed in the centers of the main economic regions. Similar issues are also being discussed in the Ukraine.

[Begin reporter P. Savchak recording] The Armed Forces of the Ukraine—Past and Present is the title of an international theoretical conference that has been held in Lvov. Scientists from Kiev, Lvov, Vinnitsa, and Dnepropetrovsk, and from among Ukrainians living abroad, discussed Ukrainian military affairs, starting with the times of the princes and ending with the present day. It was noted that the Ukraine, on an equal footing with other states, can and must have its own armed forces designed to defend its independence. Researchers exchanged views about the organizational structure, strength, ethnic composition, and subordination of the armed forces of the Ukraine. They stressed that it is necessary for the army being created today to maintain the spirit of the Ukrainian rebel army, while also taking into account present day requirements. [end recording]

Donbass Miners Send Appeal to Yeltsin, Silayev

OW1209163091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1315 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of mine directors in the Donets Coal Basin (Donbass) in the Ukraine have sent Russia's President Boris Yeltsin and Premier Ivan Silayev a message saying that the shortage of timber used in coal mines may result in nearly 100,000 regional miners finding themselves jobless and pennyless. The timber is supplied to Donbass from Russia.

Foreign Minister Zlenko on Upcoming UN Session

LD1209173891 Kiev Radio Kiev in English
2100 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Today, Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko held a press conference in Kiev on the upcoming session of the UN General Assembly. He said:

[Begin Zlenko recording in Ukrainian with superimposed translation into English] We proceed from the fact that the participation of Ukraine's delegation in the 46th session of the UN General Assembly will give us an opportunity to use this world forum so as to implement those plans which we have mapped out, says Anatoliy Zlenko. The most important task is to involve the United Nations organization as much as possible so that it could guarantee sovereignty, consolidate independence of Ukraine as a full-fledged subject of international law. The second strategic task is to initiate and deepen bilateral relations with other countries which (?we) determined as priority relations for Ukraine. At this session certain republics of the former USSR will apply for the UN membership. Our delegation will do everything possible so as to solve this problem positively. For the first time during the 46 years of its membership of the United Nations, the top official of Ukraine, that is Chairman of Ukraine Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk, will participate in the session. His speech is scheduled for 30 September. [end recording]

Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko also dwelt on the specific interests of the Ukrainian delegation at the UN session:

[Begin Zlenko recording in Ukrainian with superimposed translation into English] First of all we are going to put forth our proposals aimed at minimizing the aftereffects of the Chernobyl accident, continues Anatoliy Zlenko. The delegation will forward a number of initiatives at the session—I have in mind the role of democratic institutions in guaranteeing human rights, responsibility of the (?state) for respect and protection of human rights, initiatives concerning the rights of the national minorities. Very important for us is the question of disarmament and we shall support those decisions which will be aimed at banning nuclear arms tests, said Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko. [end recording]

Supreme Soviet Discusses Draft Citizenship Law

LD1209164891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] A citizen of the Ukraine cannot simultaneously be a citizen of the Union or of any other state. All of its current residents will receive the right to citizenship of the Ukraine, but this will be determined by qualifications of descent, residence, property, and even of language.

Such a clause is contained in the draft law on citizenship submitted today for discussion by the session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

Government To Import Grain, Issue Coupons

PM1209133591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Sergey Tsikora report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Grain Producing Ukraine Will Import Grain"]

[Text] Kiev—This question was discussed in detail at the last session of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers.

An alarming situation has developed. It was announced that the republic will harvest 41-42 million tonnes of grain this year. That is less than last year's harvest, but by no means so little that it will be impossible to live well. What is the matter then?

The peasants are not selling grain to the state. State stores have received only 10 million tonnes. Specialists estimate that the granaries will receive another several million tonnes over the next few weeks. But in order to feed the Ukraine's population of 52 million, the republic should have at least 17 million tonnes. The missing grain must be bought abroad.

The government intends to borrow hard currency for this purpose from the republic's industrial enterprises. L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, said that he is making use of the special powers that he has been granted by the legislature and will order that all hard currency from transactions with foreign firms be left in the republic.

At the same session of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers it was announced that the republic's government is taking another fundamental step that will have tremendous political and economic consequences. It is a question of starting to put into effect a major program in the sphere of finance. The republic has decided to urgently introduce reusable coupons that will be in circulation at the same time as the current money. The Ukrainian National Bank has reached an agreement with a foreign firm for these coupons to be printed immediately. This quasi-currency will be issued only against real output and paid out with wages as a proportion of these wages backed up by goods.

In this way the republic's economists hope to solve several fundamental issues at a stroke. First, they hope to protect their market from a flood of inflated rubles from neighboring republics and, second, they hope to prepare the population of the independent Ukraine for the move away from coupons—quasi-currency—to a new national currency.

"We want to ensure that Ukrainian money is a convertible currency from the very outset," L. Kravchuk, head of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, said in conversation with journalists. "That will enable us to join international currency organizations by no means as 'poor relations,' will assert the reality of our independence, and will qualitatively change our thinking."

Kravchuk Visits Nikolayev 11 Sep

LD1309003391 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] Kravchuk, the chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, arrived in Nikolayev today. He visited the Chornomorskyy [Black Sea] shipyard, familiarized himself with industrial processes and the course of conversion, and spoke with blue- and white-collar workers, engineering and technical personnel, and with the leadership of the enterprise. At the initiative of the plant's collective, a meeting of many thousands of working people took place on the square where the head of the Ukrainian legislature delivered a speech. After the meeting was over, the collective decided to support proposing Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk as a candidate for president of the Ukraine.

In the afternoon, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet chairman took a trip to the Ellis Industrial Association where a meeting with the work collective took place. Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk addressed those present and talked about the changes that are taking place in the country and in the Ukraine. The enterprise's collective unanimously proposed Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk as a candidate for president of the Ukraine.

In the evening, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet chairman met with representatives of the city's public.

Liberal Party Founding Congress Opens in Donetsk

LD1309031391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0644 12 Sep 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Nikolay Stolyarov]

[Text] Donetsk, 12 Sep (UKRINFORM-TASS)—Approving the programs and rules of the Ukrainian Liberal Party are the main items on the agenda at the founding congress of this party which opened in Donetsk today.

In the view of those taking part in the congress, and around 300 delegates have come to this Ukrainian town from many areas of the republic, the new party needs to establish close links with liberals in Western Europe. Among the main aims of the party is to attract foreign investment in the Ukrainian economy.

Journalists Protest Ban on Kiev Newspaper

LD1209203391 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] It has become known that the VECHIRNIY KYYIV [NIGHTTIME KIEV] newspaper has not been published since 10 September. This act of high-handedness with regard to the independent newspaper of the Ukraine capital has been committed by the management of the Kyyivska Pravda publishing house under the pretext of paper shortages. Proceeding from the right of every person to receive full and reliable information, and showing solidarity with the demands of the collective of VECHIRNIY KYYIV to resume publication of the newspaper, the Ukraine Union of Journalists Executive Committee Presidium has voiced its protest against the illegal action of the management of the Kyyivska Pravda publishing house. The protest includes the demand that the matter be fully and objectively investigated.

The Ukraine Union of Journalists consistently upholds the right of the citizens of our independent state to receive true information and the right of the journalists to print this information on the pages of publications of a broad political spectrum of various parties, public associations, and movements. The Union is against the suppression of freedom of speech by political or economic means, and supports the total activity of publications on the basis of Ukraine's legislation and the declaration of human rights and freedoms.

Moldova

Statement Signed With Ukraine on Bilateral Ties

LD1209225591 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] The signing of a joint statement in Kishinev has crowned the consultative meeting held by the parliamentary delegations of Ukraine and Moldova. In the focus of discussion were questions of bilateral relations. The delegations reaffirmed the importance of the recently proclaimed by the two republics acts on their state independence. The statement indicates that the actions which may be detrimental to the state sovereignty of Ukraine and Moldova are inadmissible. The sides will continue consultations for the preparation and signing of an interstate treaty which is supposed to regulate mutual ties between the two republics on the principles of their loyalty to generally accepted norms of international law.

Supreme Soviet Issues Statement on Disarmament

OW1209160091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The parliament of Moldova has issued a statement on security and disarmament, demanding the full withdrawal of Soviet troops, nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles from the republic's territory.

The statement says that Moldova absolutely agrees with the goals and principles of the Paris treaty on conventional Euroforces and the Vienna agreement on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe, and is ready to endorse these documents.

Moldova intends to join in the Vienna talks on Conventional Forces in Europe and take measures to build up international trust and security. With that goal in mind, it is ready to open talks with the Soviet leadership on tackling these problems, which ensue from the proclamation of Moldovan independence, in practical terms.

The statement says Moldova will soon begin to form its own armed forces that will be used exclusively to safeguard the republic's security and territorial integrity, protect the Moldovan Constitution and guarantee the observance of human rights in an atmosphere of openness and in compliance with the Paris treaty and the Vienna agreement.

Supreme Soviet Reviews Presidential Election Bill

AU1209191191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1819 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev] ROMPRES, 12/9/1991 — The presidential election bill was read for a first time in the parliament of Moldova on 12 September.

A special commission will discuss the amendments submitted for consideration during the debate after which, in its improved version, it will be returned to parliament.

Participants in the discussions outlined that the president of the Republic should be elected directly, and that on the powers given to him by the constitution, the parliament of the Republic would have to decide.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Addresses Supporters at 12 Sep Rally

AU1309152091 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1345 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Text] On 12 September, late in the evening, in front of the government building in Tbilisi, a mass rally was held in support of the policy being pursued by the authorities of the Repuiblic of Georgia elected by the people. Prior to its beginning, Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia visited members of the political bloc Roundtable-Free Georgia who are continuing their hunger strike in front of the government building in protest against the unconstitutional actions taken by individual groups that are destabilizing the sociopolitical situation in Tbilisi and in some regions of Georgia.

The participants in the rally welcomed Zviad Gamsakhurdia's brief speech by applause. The position and unsuccessful attempts by the supporters of unconstitutional actions, he said, are at variance with the interests of society that has pinned all its hopes for the future upon the creation of its own independent state. These adversaries are so small in number that their interference, condemned by representatives of all social strata, will not influence the natural course of events in the republic. [Words indistinct].

Gamsakhurdia Protests Russian 'Interference'

LD1209213591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[From the 'Vesti' newscast]

[Text] Today, as on previous days, we have all been watching with alarm the development of the situation in Georgia, which now finds itself on the threshold of civil war. Today, after more than 10 days of silence, the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet finally decided to convene a parliamentary session for Monday, 16 September. However, as INTERFAX reports from Tbilisi, the events of recent days are on the bottom of the agenda for the session. Only the last three items out of 23 on the agenda are related to the demonstrations by the Georgian opposition.

Meanwhile President Gamsakhurdia has sent Yeltsin a letter in which he protests against the campaign to discredit the Georgian leadership which, he alleges, is under way in the Union and Russian mass media. Gamsakhurdia also described the recent statement by Russian parliamentary committees, in which alarm was expressed at the human rights situation in Georgia, as crude interference in the republic's affairs. It should be noted, however, that the international community no longer regards human rights questions as a purely internal matter for various states. This is also being stressed at the CSCE conference which is now in progress in Moscow. [video, attributed to National Democratic Party, shows demonstrations and, at one point, a line of policemen]

But let us return to today's events in Tbilisi. Protest actions in support of demands for the resignation of President Gamsakhurdia continued. Over 20 political parties and organizations expressed support for the National Democratic Party. Representatives of the intelligentsia have declared a sit-down strike opposite the State University in Tbilisi. They include directors (Eldashin Ilaya), (Ilana Gaprindalidze) and others. Protest actions also began in Batumi, Gori, Telavi, and Rustavi. In many parts of Tbilisi movements and parties of various orientations are organizing protest actions with similar demands. Barricades have been erected outside the headquarters of the National Democratic Party and the independence party. Russian and Central TV were again disconnected this afternoon. Protest actions by some staff at Georgian TV are continuing. They are demanding the democratization of television and objective coverage of recent processes in the republic.

Decree Calls for Creation of Internal Troops

AU1309092691 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0700 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Text] Here is a decree issued by the president of the Republic of Georgia:

On the Creation of the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Troops

To create the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Internal Affairs internal troops as separate from [gareshe] the National Guard. To entrust the command of the internal troops to the head of the main administration of the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Internal Affairs. To entrust the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Internal Affairs to present, within one month, to the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers the structure and establishment [sashtato ganrigi] of the internal troops, and the planned expenditure. To entrust the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Economy and Finance to finance the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Internal Affairs internal troops on the basis of the planned expenditure that has been presented.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Date] 12 September 1991

Tbilisi Garrison Commander Dismissed

AU1309092991 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0200 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Text] Here is a decree issued by the president of the Republic of Georgia:

On the Release of Dilar (?Lanchkhava) From the Post of Commander of the Tbilisi Garrison

To release Guards Major Dilar Tengiz Dze [son of Tengiz] (?Lanchkhava) from the post of commander of the Tbilisi garrison of the Republic of Georgia Internal Troops—National Guard.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Date] 12 September 1991

Opposition, Journalists Present Demands

AU1209165391 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] The sit-down action is continuing on Rustaveli Prospect outside the buiding of the National Independence Party.

Yesterday evening, at the place where the barricades have been set up, [words indistinct] Irakli Tsereteli [leader of the National Independence Party] spoke. He informed those at the meeting of the resolution adopted by the political parties and organizations of the opposition: the creation of a coordinating council that demands the resignation of the president; the post of presidency should be temporarily abolished; parliament should temporarily become the ruling force; a national congress should be convened in the near future; and new elections should be held.

Those attending the meeting on Rustaveli Prospect were called upon to make their way to the university to (?join) the meeting being held there.

Yesterday the parliamentary fraction "Democratic Center" and political organizations collaborating with it organized an information meeting in the university hall. Representatives of the Greens Movement and the "Freedom" bloc began a sitdown action on the steps of the university.

Also yesterday, a meeting involving many people was held outside the government building. The meeting was opened by Temur Koridze, chairman of the Supreme Council permanent commission. He informed the people that a session [of the Supreme Council] would be held soon at which a commission would be created to investigate the 2 September incident. Representatives of the opposition would be included in this commission. [passage indistinct]

Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] Zviad Gamsakhurdia spoke at the meeting: [words indistinct] any kind of armed adventure will take place, they will be made to answer within the framework of the law. They have charged that it was apparently our intention to carry out physical retribution against them. This is an outright provocation. We didn't (?say) this. The so-called opposition is now saying: As Gamsakhurdia threatened us with physical retribution, we, in defense, have erected barricades. In this way, they are falsifying our position and what we said. Our patience, however, is limitless. They are trying in vain to try our patience. We will not be hooked so easily on the line of provocation. With the same intention, the [words indistinct] action is continuing in Shavnabada under the leadership of Kitovani [former commander of the National Guard]. The (?youths) who are in Shavnabada are being (?misinformed and misled). The opposition is obsessed with the idea that I am not giving them [access] to the TV and press. This is also untrue. Quite recently, the newspaper ERTOBA wrote the following about (?me): [passage indistinct] it is essential to respect the law, to respect the government and president that have been elected by the people. Democracy means the supremacy of [word indistinct] laws approved by the people. Everyone has to recognize the law.

[names indistinct], Akaki Asatiani, and others also spoke.

A meeting of TV and radio journalists was held today in the Republic of Georgia State TV and Radio Broadcasting Department. The participants demanded that the heads of the department lift the information blockade that has been imposed upon the people and that the TV and radio broadcast objective and unbiased information. A resolution was adopted. It was decided at the meeting that a sit- down strike will continue outside the department's building until the demands of the journalists have been satisfied.

This is the resolution adopted at the meeting of the TV and radio journalists: In view of the fact that the heads of the Georgian State TV and Radio Broadcasting Department have not fulfilled the demands of the department's employees made at a meeting on 9-10 September that the Georgian TV and radio information service should objectively report current political events and that the political organizations of the opposition be given necessary air time, in agreement with the Georgian State TV and Radio Broadcasting Department's trade union, a protest action will begin on 12 September. In the resolution, the participants in the action declare their lack of confidence in the department management.

Deputies, Others Adopt 'Civic Peace' Charter

AU1309153191 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0700 GMT 13 Sep 91

["Full text" of "Charter 91—The Defense of Universal Civic Peace in Georgia" adopted by a group of Georgian Supreme Council deputies, representatives of the public, and members of political parties with the blessing of the Georgian Catholicos-Patriarch Ilia II, in Tbilisi; date not given]

[Text] With the blessing of the most holy and beatific Ilia II, catholicos-patriarch of All-Georgia.

A group of deputies from the Georgian Supreme Council, representatives of the public, and members of political parties have adopted "Charter 91—The Defense of Universal Civic Peace in Georgia."

Here is the full text of the charter:

Feeling the greatest responsibility before the nation of God and our descendants, taking into account the essence and importance of the historical moment, the ferocity of the opposition of political forces, and the prospects for the possible undesirable development of events, and aiming for the establishment of universal civic peace in Georgia, we, the undersigned, publicly state the following:

1. Our aim is the restoration of Georgia's state independence and the establishment of a sovereign democratic state that should become a subject of international law enjoying equal rights and an indivisible part of the free world.

2. The builder of such a state and its defender [words indistinct] a free citizen and individual to escape [words indistinct] captivity of a totalitarian regime and, over the course of years, [words indistinct]

3. In spite of the current difficult political situation, it is inadmissible to establish barracks discipline in public life by means of the restriction of fundamental human rights. Slogans that are being spread in our country such as "first independence, then democracy" are harmful and the ideological conviction contained in them is, first and foremost, hindering the move toward independence.

4. We deem it essential to implement [words indistinct] the fundamental ideas (?formulated) in the UN Declaration of Human Rights and in the Helsinki, Madrid, Vienna, and Paris final documents that will contribute to the rapprochement [words indistinct] prevailing directions of world (?politics) and Georgian national interests.

5. There is a need for the radical liberalization of public life. It is necessary to implement the complete (?delimitation) of legislative, executive, and legal power, put an end to the suppression of free thought and expression, implement civilized, constructive, and constitutional methods of [waging] a political struggle, open the way to market economic and [word indistinct] production initiatives, resolve the agrarian problem, and curb the corrupt mafia that is resisting [words indistinct]. The builder of a free country and the free man must become the state's principal driving force.

6. All manifestations of violence must be categorically condemned. Arms should only be raised against an aggressor and in defense of the nation's honor and the territorial integrity of the motherland. However, our internal political disagreements must be resolved by means of peaceful dialogue and without the interference of external forces.

It is our hope that, on the basis of the fundamental principles enumerated, it will be possible to establish civic peace in Georgia.

We call upon those to whom the aspirations in the above mentioned document are acceptable to join the ranks of the signatories.

[Signed] T'edo Paat'ashvili, Gela Ch'orgulashvili, Merab Urigia, Tengiz Dikhamindia, Malkhaz Kvantilashvili, Gela Koberidze, Irakli Melashvili, Eldar Shengelaya [prominent film director], Gia Buadze [prominent actor], Lana Ghoghoberidze [prominent film director], Merab Kokach'ashvili, Tengiz Abashidze [prominent film director], Koba Imedashvili [prominent actor], Akaki Bakradze [prominent intellectual], Nodar Nat'adze [chairman of the Popular Front and the parliamentary opposition fraction "Democratic Center"], Guram Bech'anashvili [prominent writer], Irakli Sidamonidze-Tseret'eli, and others.

National Guard 'Back Under Government Control'

AU1209173891 Paris AFP in English 1710 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Tbilisi, Georgia, Sept 12 (AFP)—Part of the Georgian National Guard which refused to obey orders from President Zviad Gamsakhurdia appeared to be back under government control Thursday after the guard's leader and the republic's Defense Ministry worked out an agreement.

National Guard Chief Tengiz Kitovani agreed to return the men under his authority to their units over the next week, according to Georgian Defense Minister Nodar Gyiorgadze [spelling as received].

Kitovani also agreed to meet with Gamsakhurdia, whose orders he had refused to follow since August 20 because he suspected the Georgian president of collaborating with leaders of the failed Soviet coup. Fifteen thousand of the guard's 17,000 troops remained loyal to their commander.

Gamsakhurdia created the National Guard in April following his republic's unilateral declaration of independence from the Soviet Union.

The accord with the National Guard came one day after Gamsakhurdia, facing a call for his resignation from 26 opposition groups, appealed for dialogue.

"I am not a dictator. I am for pluralism but the law must be respected," Gamsakhurdia told journalists here while offering to engage opposition politicians in a television debate.

Pro- and anti-Gamsakhurdia demonstrators had blocked off the center of the Georgian capital Wednesday as the opposition stepped up its campaign to force the president from office.

Reportage on South Ossetian Unrest

Armed Clashes Suspended

LD1209151191 Moscow TASS in English 1307 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Valeriy Shanayev report]

[Text] Vladikavkaz September 12 TASS—The social and political situation tended to normalise in South Ossetia on Wednesday.

In Tskhinvali and in Dzhava District, where a state of emergency is in effect, and in Tskhinvali and Znauri Districts, armed clashes between opposing groups were suspended. Only on Wednesday night, shooting was heard from the Georgian village of Zemo-Nikozi. No civilian casualties have been reported.

According to the South Ossetian Rukhs organisation, the lull resulted from attempts by Soviet Interior Ministry troops, deployed in Tskhinvali, to organise talks between the local population and leaders of Georgian armed groups.

On the whole, the situation in the region remained tense. In Znauri District, a large number of armed fighters control all roads leading to the area, where a state of emergency is in effect. They have blocked the delivery of humanitarian cargoes from Vladikavkaz. Trucks can move along the main road Dzhava-Tskhinvali only when guarded by combat equipment.

Rustaveli Protest Continues

AU1209105891 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0815 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Domestic in Georgian at 0815 GMT on 12 September, in its "PIKIS SAAT'I" (Rush Hour) news program carries, as the last item of domestic news, a one minute report on yesterday's demonstrations in Tbilisi. Reception is very poor.

The report states that Rustaveli Prospekt [Tbilisi's main thoroughfare] has been "closed with buses and barricades." It goes on to say that "ladies" who are non-residents of Tbilisi are on hunger strike outside the Government building in support of Georgian president Gamsakhurdia. It then states that the opposition "is organizing a sit-down protest" and its ranks have been swelled by representatives of Georgia's Greens who have joined the sitdown action outside the city's university. It goes on to say that the entrance to the TV department has been blocked with buses.

The remainder of the report is unmonitorable.

Further on Unrest

AU1209154791 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1445 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] There is unrest once again in Samochablo [South Ossetia]. Yet again, lines of cars and trucks are standing for hours on end at the entry to Tskhinvali, waiting for armored personnel carriers to accompany them. Once again there is unrest in Shida Kartli [area of Georgia into which South Ossetia has now been reincorporated under its historical name of Samachablo by the Georgian Government]. People are managing with great difficulty to get to [words indistinct] villages on [words indistinct] and buses. Shooting can be heard here and there [words indistinct]. Someone has a strong interest in [word indistinct] the situation in the region, said Colonel (Zemal Insler), (?commander) of the Georgian militia headquarters. No sooner does it become calm, than the murders, robberies [words indistinct] start.

Situation Termed 'Real Tragedy'

LD1209193791 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—The aim of a delegation of South Ossetian women, who arrived here today for a meeting with the leadership of the Soviet peace committee, is to attract the attention of all state and public organisations to the situation in South Ossetia.

Major General of the reserve Kim Tsagolov, chairman of the Moscow-based Society of Ossetian Culture, speaking during the meeting, described the situation in South Ossetia as a real tragedy of the ethnic minority.

What is happening in South Ossetia is a systematic and manifest genocide, he said. Hundreds of those killed, a large number of those missing, tens of thousands of refugees are an evidence of the inadmissibility of a further exacerbation of this most acute conflict.

Equal talks between representatives of the two people may become the only reasonable way to resolve the conflict, Tsagolov said.

He urged Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev to act as mediators in a settlement of contentious issues between Georgia and South Ossetia and be subsequently the guarantors of the observance of accords reached.

Speakers during the meeting voiced proposals to apply to the United Nations with a statement about the incompatibility of Georgia's membership in the international community of democratic states as it pursues the policy of the most flagrant violation of human rights and the suppression of the will of ethnic minorities, and to urge all foreign partners of the Soviet Peace Committee and respective international organisations to act together in defence of human rights in the region.

'Inflamed' Situation Viewed

PM1209155191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 91 Single Edition p 4

[Special correspondent A. Semenyaka report: "Revolution Announced"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 11 Sep—The headquarters of the National Democratic Party of Georgia is on Rustaveli Avenue not far from Government House. It represents the interests of a certain section of the nationalist-minded intelligentsia. Students form its social base.

The party proclaims equality of rights for all inhabitants of Georgia, regardless of their nationality and religion. It advocates cooperation with all democratic and national forces in the country and abroad. It rejects violence and calls for actions using exclusively political methods. The National Democratic Party of Georgia is one of the initiators of the creation of the so-called "National Congress." It is in opposition to the "Roundtable-Free Georgia" ruling bloc.

In one of the offices I found Tengiz Sharmanashvili, this party's secretary and a member of the main committee. He analyzed the situation that has taken shape.

"The ruling bloc has recently departed from the principles of democracy and the national liberation movement. It has not fulfilled a single point in its election program: It has not made a start on privatization or given land to the peasants or freedom to the mass media. What is more, political prisoners have appeared in our republic: Eight of our party's people have been arrested and are now in jail. The same fate has befallen some representatives of 'Mkhedrioni.'

"During the days of the state putsch in Moscow, when Russia, the Baltic region, and Moldova harshly condemned the actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, Georgian President Z. Gamsakhurdia, while not declaring support for this committee, in fact fulfilled its demands. The president tried to disband the national guard and did not allow a single political movement to harshly condemn the putsch in the press or on television at the time of it.

"Therefore we wanted to hold a rally 2 September to confirm that there are healthy forces in the republic that abide by the principles of the national liberation movement. At the rally we also wanted to play a recording of a speech by T. Sigua, former chairman of the republic government, in which he exposed the actions of the president of the Republic of Georgia in supporting the State Committee for the State of Emergency. You know what came of that."

"How, in your view, will events in Tbilisi and in the republic as a whole develop now?"

"The situation is badly inflamed. It is unpredictable. Z. Gamsakhurdia will do anything, including use force. We are continuing the struggle for the resignation of the republic's president, using exclusively peaceful political forms and methods. We condemn all violence whatever in respect of the republic's government."

...Government House is closely guarded by a national guard regiment which has remained on the president's side. The rest of the guard's formations with T. Kitovani, its former commander, have refused to obey Z. Gamsakhurdia.

The president has ordered soldiers and officers of the said guard to leave the suburb of Tbilisi and return to the city barracks so as not to be drawn, to use his words, into an antistate putsch. On the same day Z. Gamsakhurdia issued a decree announcing the creation of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Georgia and subordinated the national guard to himself.

Yesterday I. Tsereteli, leader of the Georgian National Independence Party, announced the start of a national democratic revolution in the republic. The next few days will show what this confrontation will lead to.

Official Charges Fraud in Abkhaz Referendum

LD1209162491 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Tbilisi September 12 SAKINFORM-TASS—Georgia's Procurator-General Vakhtang Razmadze, in a letter sent to Vladimir Orlov, chairman of the Soviet Union's central commission for the referendum, has demanded that the results of the all-Union referendum in the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic on March 17, this year, be annulled.

On the strength of the results of an investigation carried out by the procurator's office of Georgia, Razmadze refuted the central commission's official data, according to which the referendum in the Abkhaz Republic in favour of preserving the Union involved 52.3 per cent of the total number of voters.

The investigation established, the letter says, that the number of voters taking part in the polling was artificially increased through falsification, unlawfully compiled lists and votes cast by the same voters at different polling stations.

The investigation data have it that the actual number of participants in the plebiscite in the autonomous republic was only 48.2 per cent, i.e. less than a half of the electorate, the letter points out.

Prosecutor Wants Referendum Nullified

OW1209182691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian Public Prosecutor's Office has established that in Abkhaziya the results of the March 17 referendum on the preservation of the Union were manipulated. This emerges from a telegram sent on September 10 by Georgian Prosecutor-General Vakhtang Razmadze to V. Orlov, chairman of the Central Referendum Commission.

The telegram reads that "at the present stage of preliminary investigations" the turnout for the referendum in Abkhaziya has been found to be 48.2 percent, and not 52.3 percent as stated officially. A majority of those taking part in the referendum in Abkhaziya came out in favour of preserving the Union as a renewed federation.

In the opinion of the Georgian Public Prosecutor's Office the returns were manipulated using illegally compiled lists, by having some electors cast more than one vote and so forth.

Several Dailys Fail To Appear 11 Sep

LD1209105391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0700 GMT 12 Sep

[Text] Judging by his comments at a meeting with foreign journalists, the use of force against Georgia's opposition, which seeks President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's resignation, is not ruled out. We add to this TASS report one from TRUD newspaper's own correspondent in which he reports that the regular editions of TRUD, IZVESTIYA, and NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA did not come out in Georgia yesterday. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has not been published for almost two weeks. In all probability, the correspondent continues, someone is very unsettled by publications in the central press.

Supreme Council Session Changed to 15 Sep

AU1309080191 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0700 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Text] Concerning the first meeting of the second session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council of the first convocation:

The first meeting of the second session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council of the first convocation will be held in the conference hall of the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers at 7 (?Ingurokua) Street at 1000 on 15 September 1991, instead of on 16 September as was earlier announced.

The registration of deputies of the Supreme Council will begin on 15 September beginning at 0830.

Parliament To Discuss Internal Protests Last

OW1209184591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1545 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The recent events in Georgia will be discussed last of all at the second session of the Georgian Supreme Council to open in Tbilisi September 16.

IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent reports from Tbilisi that of the 20 issues on the session's agenda only the last three are related to recent protests by the Georgian opposition. Specifically, the parliament will discuss responsibility for violating law and order and for organizing and holding rallies, demonstrations and other political actions; it will also set up a parliamentary commission to investigate the September 2 incident in Tbilisi. On that day about 20 people were wounded in clashes between opposition demonstrators and the police in the Georgian capital's Rustaveli Square.

Progress on Diplomatic Ties With Romania

OW1209182391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian and Romanian Foreign Ministers, Murman Omanidze and Adrian Nastase, have expressed interest in establishing diplomatic relations between Georgia and Romania at the ambassadorial level.

At a meeting held on the premises of the Romanian Embassy in Moscow on September 11 the two ministers voiced their conviction that the establishment of diplomatic relations would be highly conducive to the rapid development of mutually beneficial links in various areas.

Murman Omanidze invited Adrian Nastase to make an official visit to Georgia. The latter is in Moscow to attend the meeting of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension.

Romania is the only foreign state to recognize Georgian independence. Of the former Soviet republics, only Moldova has recognized Georgia.

Armenia

Supreme Council Recognizes Baltic Independence

OW1209172091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday the Armenian Supreme Council ratified Armenia's interstate treaties with Georgia and Lithuania in which the republics had recognized each other as independent states.

The Armenian parliament has also recognized the independence of Latvia and Estonia.

Supreme Soviet Session Views Stabilization Steps

NC1309151891 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Mavr Danielyan report; recorded]

[Excerpts] [Danielyan] This morning the Armenian Supreme Soviet session examined the situation in Vaykskiy, Kapanskiy, and Megrinskiy and instructed the leadership and law enforcement agencies in these areas to take urgent measures to stabilize the situation and not to hamper the activities of the Internal Affairs Ministry agencies. Supreme Soviet deputies were dispatched to the regions to oversee and stabilize the situation in the border area.

After a recess, the participants discussed the State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting, an issue just included in the parliament's agenda. Meruzhan

Ter-Gulanyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Press Affairs Commission, spoke on the issue.

[Ter-Gulanayan] [Passage omitted] Four main editorial sections of the committee have been dissolved. The structural changes, however, have not improved the committee's operations. In fact, due to these changes cadres with many years of experience were left out. On many occasions adventitious unconfirmed reports are put on the air. Most importantly, and I am reading the conclusion of the Press Affairs Commission, the committee's operation is not serving in cultivating public opinion, shaping a concept of statehood, forming a national culture, or reflecting the interests of the state or the views of the public. [passage omitted]

[Danielyan] Prime Minister Vazgen Manukyan spoke in detail about the activities of the chairman of the State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting and about the fact that this issue was discussed a number of times at the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium. Manukyan was unhappy that he was not included in those meetings even though he is a member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. [passage omitted]

Two proposals were presented: First, whether to accept the resignation of Genrikh Ovanesyan, chairman of the State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasts, at his request or to relieve him of his post. Neither proposal received the necessary number of votes and the government was advised to resolve this matter itself. The participants then addressed the next three items on the agenda: Recognition of the Baltic states' independence, ratification of the interstate agreement between Armenia and Lithuania, and ratification of the interstate agreement signed Armenia and Georgia. Davit Vardanyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Foreign Relations, spoke about these issues. Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, who chaired the meeting read the bills and put them to a vote.

[Ararktsyan] The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet decides to ratify the treaty on the basic principles of interstate relations between the Armenian and Georgian Republics. This is our first ratified agreement, and I congratulate you. I do not believe that this type of vote has ever taken place before because 149 voted in favor of the bill while no one voted against it and no one abstained. [applause]

Now, to the second bill. The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet decides to ratify the treaty on interstate relations between the Armenian and the Lithuanian Republics. Once again 149 voted for the bill and no one voted against it or abstained. [applause]

Next is the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet's decision on the recognition of the state independence of the Latvian Republic. In connection with the declaration of state independence by the Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet, the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet decides to recognize the state independence of the Latvian Republic and to instruct the Armenian Republic Foreign Ministry to conduct the relevant talks and sign an agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Armenian and Latvian Republics. Again 146 voted in favor, and no one opposed or abstained. [applause]

Next is the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet decision on the recognition of the state independence of the Estonian Republic. In connection with the declaration of state independence by the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet, the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet decides to recognize the state independence of the Estonian Republic and to instruct the Armenian Republic Foreign Minister to conduct the relevant talks and sign an agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Armenian and Estonian republics. Once again 146 voted in the affirmative, and no one opposed or abstained. [applause]

[Danielyan] Supreme Soviet chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan described the historic importance of the decisions adopted in these words:

[Ter-Petrosyan] On this happy occasion I want to stress the importance of our votes today which reflect the unanimity in our parliament. The speakers talked about the legal structures during the debate. This aspect of the issue is very important. Had these structures not existed, had there been no war of the laws in the soviet, no change would ever have come. This war of laws (?against the ossified laws and violations of the constitution) was a manifestation of life and vitality. The Stalinist and Brezhnevian constitution had to be undermined. This (?was not being done) by [word indistinct] and by Gorbachev; the Soviet people had to do it themselves. And the people did it. The revolution and the progress of life at such transitional periods cannot be restricted by the constitution or laws. Had we confined ourselves to the laws and implored for recognition no one would have recognized us. One does not ask for recognition, he simply gets it. To their credit, the Soviet people—I have in mind all those republics which aspired to attain democracy and independence—defended and supported each other, as manifested by these reciprocal recognitions and these interrepublican treaties.

Today I want to congratulate all of you on the occasion of the independence of the Baltic states. I consider this not only a victory for these peoples but our victory as well. The recognition of the Baltic republics and of the independence of the Georgian Republic is also a confirmation of our independence. Just as our parliament today voted unanimously in favor of the independence of the Baltic republics and of Georgia, our people will unanimously vote in favor of Armenian independence on 21 September. I congratulate you.

[Danielyan] The parliament adopted an appeal to the Armenian people which was read by Babken Ararktsyan.

[Ararktsyan] The appeal by the Armenian Supreme Soviet to the citizens of Armenia: When the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet adopted the declaration of independence on 23 August 1990 the course was set for the establishment of an independent state. The Armenian Republic's referendum on independence will be held on 21 September to determine the destiny of the Armenian people.

The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet appeals to the citizens of the Armenian Republic to participate in the referendum and vote yes to the realization of our centuries-old aspiration: The independence of Armenia.

The appeal was passed unanimously.

[Danielyan] [passage omitted] Next the session discussed the bill on alternate service. What is this bill? Let us listen to Bagrat Asatryan, acting chairman of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Health and Social Affairs.

[Asatryan] Certain factors necessitated the adoption of this bill. First of all with this law one of the most important norms of human rights is being proclaimed. This bill provides the possibility to render services in line with one's conscience. [passage omitted] The logic behind the law is simple. It envisages an important [word indistinct] foreseen by human rights: This involves the right of potential conscripts to choose alternative services, to choose a non-military service. The objective of the bill is to enlist those citizens whose conscience and convictions prevent them from undertaking military service in highly specialized activities. This is the bill's basic principle. [passage omitted]

[Danielyan] The discussion on this bill was postponed. The deputies were then presented the preliminary agenda for the third session of the first convocation of the Armenian Supreme Soviet. At the evening session, the Council of Ministers submitted a report to the Supreme Soviet that considering the appeal of the chairman of the State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting to resign from his post due to health reasons, the Council of Ministers has relieved him of his post and now requests the Supreme Soviet to confirm this decision. The parliament voted on the issue and with the required amount of votes relieved Genrikh Ovanesyan from his post.

The Supreme Soviet also adopted a decision calling on the deputies to actively contribute to the 21 September referendum.

The Armenian Supreme Soviet session will continue its deliberations tomorrow.

Parliament Reaffirms Republican Independence

OW1209180291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of Armenia has reaffirmed its commitment to the declaration of republican independence, but ruled that Armenia's participation in the Soviet Union's transitional- period administrative structures will be discussed after the republic's political status is defined by the September 21 referendum.

IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent reports that the adoption of this resolution by 167 of the total of 182 deputies was preceded by three days of heated debates over the new political situation in the USSR. The parliament decided that Armenia should take part in the inter-republican economic structures, and instructed the government and the standing parliamentary commissions to continue their efforts to restore economic contacts with the other republics. The head of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, Mr. Levon Ter-Petrosyan, was authorized to participate in the future sessions of the USSR State Council and conduct consultations with the other republican leaders on the possible forms of inter-republican cooperation.

Commenting on the resolution, deputy head of the Armenian parliament Mr. Gagik Arutyunyan told IF that although the USSR had undergone serious changes and many republics were about to gain real independence, it was still difficult to understand whether the Union was a federation or a confederation now, and the prospects of interrepublican cooperation were still too vague. Hence the caution with which Armenian MPs [members of parliament] had discussed things and adopted the latest resolution, Mr. Arutyunyan said.

Azerbaijan

Preliminary Results of Elections Made Public

OW1209180891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1545 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission in Azerbaijan has made public the preliminary results of last Sunday's presidential elections. According to the commission, 3,260,000 people (or 98.5 percent of all those who went to the polls) voted for Ayaz Mutalibov. Only 1.5 percent of the electorate voted against him.

The commission said that of the 3,879,000 Azerbaijani citizens having the right to vote 3,316,000 people (over 85 percent) had taken part in the election.

The final results will be published on September 17.

New Muslim Board To Emerge in Central Asia

OW1209161791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Muslim Board of Central Asia (MBCA) has broken up. A group of imams from Tashkent and the adjacent territory held a conference in Tashkent's mosque of Yakkasarai on Wednesday night, deciding to found a Muslim Board of their own and offer the top administrative post to the Imam Abdulaziz Mansurov, known to be in opposition to the official Muslim Board of Central Asia.

Two months ago a conference of Muslim community representatives from various parts of the region made an attempt to replace the Mufti Muhammad-Sodik as head of the MBCA, and give the post temporarily to Abdulaziz Mansurov, the then head of the Muslim Law Department.

The mufti was accused of "profanity": He had ordered that the Koran books received as a gift from Saudi Arabia be sold to Soviet Muslims, not distributed among them free of charge. Besides, a group of imams charged him with readiness to obey the state structures.

The commission checking the charges brought against the mufti has not yet completed its work. However, one of the prominent Muslim leaders has told IF's [INTERFAX's] reporter that "the 'wait-and- see' stand which the mufti adopted during the August coup encouraged the break-up of the regional Muslim community."

Kazakhstan

Baker-Nazarbayev To Meet Despite Accident Rumor

LD1209225491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Report from Alma-Ata by correspondent Viktor Klimov]

[Text] A brief visit by James Baker, U.S. secretary of state, to Kazakhstan is expected to take place during the night of 15 to 16 September [as heard]. He will arrive in Alma-Ata with a large retinue of foreign journalists, and will meet Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev. The agenda has not been confirmed yet, but, without doubt, the meeting is going to be of great significance for the development of Kazakh-U.S. relations.

In the meantime, rumors are being circulated in Alma-Ata about a road accident in which Nursultan Nazarbayev was allegedly involved on the eve of the visit. The leaders of the Republic's Ministry of Health, the KGB, and Internal [Affairs] Ministry have categorically denied the unpleasant suggestion, but Nazarbayev's personal driver remarked that the president has been, indeed, feeling rather unwell lately, after his trip to Moscow. The president's press secretary added that, in spite of this, it is out of the question that the meeting between Nazarbayev and the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker could be postponed.

Omarov Komsomol Elects New Chairman

LD1309005891 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0200 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Text] A plenum of the Central Committee of Kazakhstan Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] was held which discussed the political situation of youth movements. A decision was adopted to convene the 18th extraordinary congress of the republican Komsomol in October 1991, at which it is expected to put forward a motion to disband this youth organization [word indistinct] majority of the participants came to a conclusion that there was no way to reform the Komsomol. The plenum examined organizational matters. Imangaly Tasmaganbetov was released from his duties as first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Komsomol and member of the Buro, in connection with his election as chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic state committee for youth affairs. Nurlan Omarov, who had been working as secretary of the Kazakhstan Komsomol Central Committee, was elected to this post.

Kyrgyzstan

Democratic Movement Wants Parliament Dissolved

OW1209114691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A recent council session of the Kyrgyzstan Democratic Movement stressed the need to dissolve the parliament of the republic because "70 percent of its members are former communists" and propose the formation of a professional parliament to President Askar Akayev.

The movement formed a group to collect signatures in support of a referendum on the dissolution of parliament.

Tajikistan

Islamic Party Leader on Changes in Republic

LD1209210391 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Russian 1130 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Interview with Abdul Samad Khamidov, chairman of the Islamic Party of Rebirth of Tajikistan, by unidentified correspondent in Liberation Square, previously Lenin's Square, in Dushanbe on 10 September; Abdul Samad Khamidov in Tajik with superimposed Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Yesterday [9 September], Tajikistan was declared a sovereign republic. What does this day mean to you?

[Khamidov] Yesterday was a happy and festive day for all of us. Yesterday, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic declared the full independence of our Republic; it is a great achievement, which is the reason we are here [in front of the parliament building]. Because Article 7 of the Resolution of the Supreme Soviet [not further specified] has still not been implemented, the activity of the Communist Party on the territory of our republic has not been halted, which means a danger exists of a return to the old ways and there is the danger of no freedom. It means, of course, that it (?worries) the supporters of independence and freedom. We would liked to have (?seen) all these obstacles and [word indistinct] which the Communist Party has placed in the course of many years (?removed), so that they no longer exist.

For this reason, the people have gathered (?here). I emphasize that those gathered here have put forward a 17-point demand [words indistinct] and that these demands are fully met. One of the demands is, in fact, the disbandment of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and the nationalization of its property. Another is to change the decision, last year's decision of the Supreme Soviet on changing the Islamic Party of Rebirth [interpreter corrects himself] on prohibiting the activity of the Islamic Party of Rebirth, which is an anti-constitutional action.

The fulfillment of these demands, in our opinion, will be the basis for permitting us to say that Tajikistan is going irreversibly down the path of progress, on the path of reason and democracy. I simply think that there is no other way.

[Correspondent] Today NARODNAYA GAZETTA, previously known as KOMMUNIST TAJIKISTANA, published an item saying that Akbar Turadzhanzoda [name as heard] refused to put himself forward as a candidate for the post of president, stating that the role of religion is in the moral and spiritual education of people and not in political power. What do you say about this?

[Khamidov] If Turdzhonzoda had previously said this, that he would not be dealing with politics and that his work involves religious activity... [changes thought] however, he is a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, in fact a very active deputy, who shows an extraordinary activeness in tackling all the questions which are being discussed at the session of the Supreme Soviet [the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, which ended on 10 Sep]. It can be said that he is dealing with politics. I think that his statement, that he will not be standing [for the post of president] was taken from his speeches, earlier speeches.

As for me personally, I do not know all the [words indistinct] and the newspaper apparently used his earlier statements.

Turkmenia

Council Moves Forward on UN Membership

LD1209165191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0430 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] The Turkmenian Presidential council has adopted a decision to apply to the United Nations to become a full and equal member of the international community.

It has also been deemed necessary to assess shortly proposals to rename the Republic and to review the state coat of arms, flag, and the text of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic anthem.

Uzbekistan

Andizhan Oblast Prepares for 23d Congress

LD1209194891 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0200 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Excerpts] An extraordinary conference of the Andizhan party organization has been held. Kholmirzayev, first secretary of the Andizhan Oblast Party Committee spoke at the conference. [passage omitted] The participants in the conference considered as important the question of reexamining the program of the party, the [words indistinct] and changing the name of the Communist Party of the republic at the coming extraordinary 23d Congress of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. The participants elected delegates from the oblast party organization to attend the congress.

Bank for Foreign Operations Formed

OW1109150791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0718 GMT 11 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Uzbekistan announced the establishment of national bank for foreign operations which will assume responsibility for regulating this Central Asian republic's international economic relations. Its terms of reference will also include servicing the republic's foreign economic activities and building up the republic's foreign exchange reserves.

All enterprises situated on Uzbekistan's territory—no matter who the owner may be—will be obliged to deposit their foreign exchange with the republic's foreign economic bank.